

**INSIDE: The ominous rise in the cost of money**

# Maclean's

APRIL 2, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25

## THE NEW POLITICS OF LANGUAGE

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**The federal parties  
confront Manitoba's  
French crisis**

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**John Turner scrambles  
to get back into line**



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## COVER

### The new politics of language

The thorny Manitoba language dispute enflamed the nation's political landscape last week, giving the Liberal leadership new (to first-time) real issues and causing serious problems for Brian Mulroney's Conservatives. Leading Liberal candidate John Turner made his first blunder with a statement on the issue and pounded Jean Chrétien with a crusade. —Page 14

COVER AND WITH JOHN TURNER



### Israel's crumbling coalition

The failure of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's government to preserve a fragile coalition and avoid early elections will lead to a rough-and-tumble campaign. —Page 26



### Skivvies for the ladies

New York fashion designer Calvin Klein is once again ruffling the foundations of the fashion industry—with men's underwear for women. —Page 32



### The Liberal race heats up

There are now five cabinet ministers in the race to succeed Pierre Trudeau. They all share a common activity: attacking John Turner, the early leader. —Page 24



### Magic moments on ice

Canada's pairs skaters, who had considered quitting, are happy they decided to compete last week. Underhill and Martin are now world champions. —Page 46

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## Turner's miscue

Bitter divisions over language have been an enduring feature of the national scene since Pierre Trudeau entered politics. Now, even as he prepares to leave, the familiar tension refuses to die. The eruption of the Manitoba French issue has once again confronted Liberals and Conservatives in Ottawa with the familiar dilemma: how to gain crucial support from francophone voters without alienating all the others. The problem is not a new one. In 1976 then-



Goss, the strategy that failed

Transport Minister Otis Lang faced severe criticism within Liberal party ranks for his decision—subsequently rescinded—to allow English to be the only language of communication in commercial aviation. During last year's Conservative convention John Crosbie's campaign floundered when he appeared to downplay the importance of the French language in national affairs. Ironically, John Turner has fallen victim to the same kind of miscue

and, like Crosbie, he offered himself as the man who would make the country into a new age of fiscal responsibility from an era dominated by big-spending. Clearly, enough Canadians are about Trudeau's issue that his successors will ignore it at their peril. As Ottawa Bureau Chief Carol Goss reports in this week's cover story, Turner's misjudgment showed out of his campaign plan to establish clear differences between his policies and Trudeau's. When that strategy backfired, the man who promised "freshness" retreated to a well-worn tactic: he refused interviews and issued a carefully crafted statement designed to please everyone. As a party, the Liberals could have hoped for a better start in an important race.

*Kevin Doyle*

Maclean's, April 3, 1984

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## LETTERS

### On depression

Depression's pervasive and timeless presence in society today is reflected in the cover. One of the motives of identification is that as the population increases, so do the lonely. It is frightening to imagine how many thousands of readers must have identified with The agony of depression (Cover, March 10). We state that almost all of us have experienced bouts of depression at some time in our lives. In light of this, I find it ironic that the word still carries such a stigma, but who isn't reluctant to admit they feel worthless or have lost control over their own life?

—BENJAMIN G. BODENKOV,  
Parsippany



Rebeck: addressing the problem

With The agony of depression, Macdonald's paints a depressingly thorough picture. A woman covers the cover. A large photo accompanying the article is of a depressed female. You quote six depressed women—no men. You describe research done by six men and one woman. If, as the article goes on to state, "biomedical research may actually induce certain types of depression," then why is it that women are "afflicted six times more than men"? Is it just possible that women are simply not allowed to show their emotions—no matter how extreme? Articles such as your cover story just reinforce stereotypes.

—PAULUMA,  
Barrie, Ont.

It was clear throughout your recent cover story that there is a new widely acknowledged interplay between psychological and biochemical causes of severe depression. Dr. Donald Denney's statements, however, indicate that he

is unfortunate that a story as timely as The agony of depression should contain errors. The discovery that shock treatment (ECT) could "trap" people out of a depression was not made in the 1950s. Electroshock was not "discovered" until 1938, in the slaughterhouse of Marcellin's Home. Not until 1940 was it claimed to help depression, and then it was being "found useful" for everything from insomnia to shell shock. Dr. Matthew Rebeck's claim that shock "cure" works "has been disputed by other prominent doctors, from Fronte Faxon to Thomas Szasz. Shock treatment works all right. It does a baseball bat.

—HITCH HAPPING,  
Toronto

### Left is right

In your article on the New Democratic Party, The NDP's fading presence (Canada, Jan. 30), not only have you confirmed the current state of affairs but also the party but you also appear to have added insult to injury by failing to identify correctly a picture of party leader Ed Broadbent. The caption identifies Broadbent to be on the right side of the photo, while also including MP Bill Blaikie, whereas in fact he is positioned to the left. Surely everyone must know that Broadbent would never allow himself to be photographed any place other than on the left of his picture.

—BENJAMIN G. BODENKOV,  
Gatineau

## PASSAGES

**MARRIED:** Andrew Lloyd Webber, 36, the British musical wunderkind who composed the scores for Jesus Christ Superstar, Evita and Cats, and Sara Brightman, a dancer and would-be opera singer, in London. Lloyd Webber, divorced in 1983 from Sarah Tudor, married Brightman on the day of the premiere of his latest show, *Silverdust Dreams*, at London's Apollo Victoria Theatre this week. The couple was presented to Queen Elizabeth before the performance.

**BILL:** Jane Gray, 68, Canada's first woman broadcaster, in Toronto. Gray began her broadcasting career in 1926 at CAGC (now CFPL) radio station in London, Ont., hosting one of Canada's first advice programs. And Jane Gray Gray later bought time for her show on Toronto radio stations while selling advertising spots for income and in 1949 took the program to CHME radio in Hamilton, Ont. In 1953 Gray became one of the first broadcasters for Hamilton's CHOI-TV, with a Sunday morning show, *Hobby Time*, which ran until 1976. Gray retired the following year.

**DEAD:** Brig.-Gen. Ian S. (Blindie) Johnston, 75, a Canadian Second World War hero, at a stroke, in Toronto. Johnston commanded the 48th (Highlanders) during the 1945 invasion of Sicily and the 11th Canadian Infantry Brigade in 1944. In 1945 he was the acting commander of the 11th Canadian Armoured Division Johnston, who was president of the Canadian Red Cross from 1958-60, was awarded the French Legion of Honor and numerous Allied decorations, including Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1945. In October he appeared on *Post-Post Challenge* to discuss his involvement in the liberation of Belgium, Berlin. From 1964 to 1972 he was a senior partner for Lamb, Johnston, Barthelette and Solicitors.

**DEAD:** Sam Jaffe, 50, American character actor best known for his portrayal of Dr. David Jordan in the 1960s television series *Ben Casey*, of cancer, at his home in Beverly Hills, Calif. Jaffe was nominated for an Emmy in 1961 for his role as the enigmatic chief of neurosurgery who was mentor and friend to young resident Casey (Wesley Edwards) in the a/c series that ran from 1961 to 1966. Jaffe was a mathematics teacher in the Bronx area of New York City before he began his theatrical career in 1947. His stage films included *Love, Honor, and the Earth* (1958) with Marilyn Monroe.



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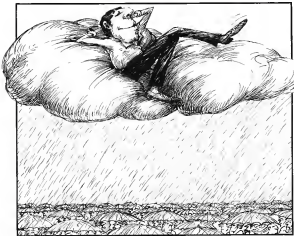
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## Aniel and Goebbels' conscience

It was not surprising that Barbara Aniel makes excuses for all things American, including the invasion of Grenada (a question of press credibility, *Column*, Feb. 28). But that she would justify that Nazi propagandist Josef Goebbels "was guided by his conscience" can only make sense when one reads the history of that period. Some German Jews involved in industry were of the opinion that there was nothing wrong with Hitler, that he had only made one mistake—persecuting the Jews. Aniel seems to ignore the fact that history has been found to repeat itself.

—R. STODOLNY,  
Thunder Bay, Ont.

I was taken with a question of press credibility. As a member of the media for almost 40 years, at least 30 of those as a convert to what "is" conservatism, it is enlightening to see a summation of the weaknesses shown by the current holders of the public trust: laid to their true sources—the fascination with trendyism or folkism. Above all, the admission to "think" is most surprising, although I fear many journalists, schools and universities also tend to follow the temptation to tell their charges to "absorb" the current trends and forget the lessons of the past. How else are we to take the media's ignoring of the lessons of the Hitler era and the Big Lie techniques and the propaganda from Soviet sources that are thoughtlessly passed along as "news" to a now fully suspicious public?

—CLIVE BOLANDER,  
Rushley

Barbara Aniel's analysis of press credibility is refreshingly accurate. Many journalists attack in all directions but display a knee-jerk defensiveness against any criticism of their sources. Even more serious are the subtle causes outlined and ignored: syndicates that the mass media frequently adopt as their own and on which they shower their favored attention, while ridiculing or ignoring opposing views. Aniel's insight and candor give us hope.

—PAUL R. SHEPPARD,  
Brookville, Ont.

Barbara Aniel's article *A question of press credibility* mentioned that the media tend to make Americans feel bad about their own country, when, if we look around, there is no apparent reason to do so. I wonder if our society, so rich in many ways, likes to bathe itself in the luxury of self-discrimination. If so, perhaps the press took on the responsibility of upholding that tradition of the comfortably well-off. Or perhaps we should look at the individuals who make up the media. They are in the

business of processing history and they know it. Could it be that each tries to put his or her own mark on the product using that most marketable tool, anti-Americanism? Possibly, it will not be long before we are called upon to support our country rather than condemn it.

—AL. BRICO,  
Pelee, Ont.

## From oppressed to oppressor

Moscow's is to be commended for devoting an article to Israel's policy of taking reprisals against civilians for

"terrorist acts" (*Conflicting views in the West Bank, Daifan*, Israel, Feb. 27). Though that policy has been in effect for several years on the West Bank, it is rarely covered to any great extent by the Western media. Your report, however, might have noted a few other things. First, the policy is in direct violation of the Geneva Conventions to take such reprisals against innocent civilians. Second, it is highly selective. For instance, when Jewish terrorists set bombs that blew the legs off of Bassam Shaka'a, or when other Jewish terrorists burst into a Palestinian university

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### FOLLOW-UP

## Patty Hearst's new life



Hearst and daughter, Gillian: a 3-4-carat diamond ring and a blue colonial house

On Friday evening 10 years ago, Patricia Campbell Hearst, then a 19-year-old student of art history at the University of California in Berkeley and granddaughter of the late publishing magnate William Randolph Hearst, returned to her apartment. She pulled on a blue terrycloth bathrobe, fixed a soup and sandwich dinner for herself and her fiancé, Steven Wood, and fished on the television set to watch *Mission: Impossible*. Then she washed the dishes and had just sat down to study when the doorbell rang. Outside stood a three-member kidnap team from the Revolutionary Liberation Army (RLA), a three-man, five-woman, self-styled urban guerrilla group. Within seconds Patty Hearst was their prisoner, on her way to becoming North America's most celebrated revolutionary terrorist.

Five steeper paths could have led to the quiet suburban end-of-the-rue in a commuter town outside New York City that is home today to Mrs. Bernard Hearst Shaw, a 39-year-old housewife, mother and convicted bank robber in one of the most sensational criminal trials in North American history. The Westport, Conn., house is a modest blue colonial. Daughter Gillian will be three years old this spring. The family shares the house with an even-tempered Alsatian guard dog. Each weekday morning at 7, she sits, almost fragile, brown-eyed former debateur makes the five-minute drive

to drop her ex-politician husband at the station, where he catches a train to his job as chief of security for the Hearst Corp.'s New York headquarters. Shaw wears a 3-4-carat flamed wedding ring, visited Studs in 64 recently and still prefers to be known by her maiden name. But if traces remain of the slightly spoiled young heiress she once was, there is clearly nothing left at all of Tasha, the combat-dressed, rifle-toting "Freedom fighter" who in 1974 helped the SLA rob the Elberon bank in San Francisco and eluded hundreds of police and FBI agents during a 19-month nationwide manhunt.

Patty Hearst's story first appeared, sketchily and to skeptical disbelief, in the front-page headlines and evening newscasts that began on Feb. 4, 1974, when the SLA members dragged her from her apartment. More detailed her story followed two years later from the witness stand in a San Francisco courtroom where she and the two surviving SLA members stood trial. And as far as Patty Hearst herself is concerned, the saga finished slightly more than two years ago when she published her own account of the experience, *Revolution and I*. The book, for which Doubleday paid her \$900,000, defends her actions in essentially the same terms as her lawyers did in court. Her argument: that after the kidnapping she became effectively brainwashed after spending 57 days locked and blindfolded in a musty

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slout, while her captors subjected her to a bewildering array of mental and physical abuse.

Every Secret Thing was some indication for its frankness, including discussions of her sexual relations, forced and otherwise, with all three of the SLA's male members. But, as was the case at the trial, it offered no really convincing explanation of why, despite numerous opportunities during a year and a half on the run, she never tried to escape. "I acted instinctively," she wrote. "By the time they had finished with me, I was, in fact, a soldier in the Symbionese Liberation Army."

But a jury did not believe that she had assumed the role unwittingly. Judge William H. Orrick of the U.S. district court in San Francisco sentenced Hearst on March 30, 1976, to seven years in prison for armed robbery, a sentence that President Jimmy Carter commuted in January, 1979. She left Penitentiary prison near Oakland, Calif., where she worked as the cook, on Feb. 11, 1979, after serving 32 months. William and Emily Hearst, who were convicted on charges of kidnapping, narrowly escaped the Los Angeles shootout with police and the subsequent fire that killed the rest of the SLA.

Legal wrangling over the Hearst case continued until January, 1982, when Hearst lawyers withdrew an appeal to have her conviction overturned. They argued that her original defense lawyer, the flamboyant F. Lee Bailey, had had a conflict of interest at the time of the trial because of an undeclared \$200,000 contract he had signed with G.P. Putnam's Sons to write a book about the case. And only last month California sports and health writer Jack Scott and his wife, Mike, won an out-of-court settlement of \$30,000 from Hearst. The Scotts had sued for libel, charging that Every Secret Thing falsely portrayed them as supporters of terrorism when Hearst described both they and allegedly given her and the Hearsts while they were on the run.

As difficult as it may be, Patty Hearst now seems determined to put all of her extraordinary experiences behind her. Two months after leaving prison she married Shaw in San Francisco. Shaw was a policeman that the Hearst family had hired to moonlight as one of her bodyguards while she was free on \$1.5-million bail in 1977. Shaw, now 38, stayed on the job with the San Francisco police department until the couple moved east last fall. Westport has a minor reputation as a haven for celebrities—actor Paul Newman, for one, lives there—but virtually no one in town even seems to know they are there—which is doubtless exactly how Patty Hearst Shaw would like to keep it.

—STEPHEN KATZ in New York



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## The racists on the Right

The host's exposure on prime-time television would have been a prize for a politician of any stripe. But for Jean-Marie Le Pen, the towering leader of France's National Front, the guest spot on *L'heure de vérité* (the hour of truth)—a public affairs show that has featured such illustrious names as President François Mitterrand—was a coup of far greater significance. With that controversial invitation last month, the country's second TV channel officially conferred an award of respectability on a street-brawling, former Foreign Legion paratrooper who has spent most of the past 30 years on the fringes of French politics. Indeed, the media, in a flurry of recent headlines, has recognized in Le Pen the country's newest and most unsettling political phenomenon: the resurgence of an extreme right wing that is thriving on nationalist and racist fears to become the fastest-growing force in France.

The rise of the National Front began slightly more than a year ago. During France's 1983 municipal elections, sympathizers of the extreme right wing



Le Pen: issuing invitations to hate

tweaked the nerve ends of racial discord in an attempt to make the 4.5 to six million immigrants into scapegoats for the economic crisis. Le Pen jabbed that inflammatory nerve in Paris's 20th arrondissement, a working-class neighborhood populated increasingly by North Africans, and won 11.2 per cent of the vote. That score was all the more startling because the National Front had never polled higher than three per cent in two decades. Most disturbing of all, the strong showing came in response to his provocative rallying cry: "Two million unemployed equals two million immigrants. France for the French." Now, after three more substantial polemic displays of strength in the past six months, Le Pen's followers have uttered that slogan—and others, not nearly so gentle—to prove that his strength is not an isolated local phenomenon.

Le Pen claims that the National Front has doubled its membership in less than two years to 30,000. At a January congress of the party's governing board in Lyons, he attracted a record 1,200 supporters who cheered Le Pen's denunciations of immigrant workers, Communist cabinet ministers, pro-abortionists and general moral laxity. At the same time, according to a Sofres agency poll published in the right-wing *Piccolo Magazine*, 15 per cent of French

people want Le Pen to play a more active role on the national political stage. Action Jeanine Jaffré, director of political studies for Sofres: "The renaissance of the extreme right wing is one of the major political events in France since the Socialists took power in May 1981."

For Le Pen, 55, the barely blond son of a Breton fisherman, his growing popularity is providing him for the first time with a measure of the legitimacy he has craved ever since he enlisted in the Foreign Legion to fight for France in Indochina more than 30 years ago. Then in 1960, after a chance meeting with right-wing politician Pierre Poujade, he joined the short-lived conservative *Faguetist* revolt of small-businessmen against the Socialist government of the day and became the compact-car deputy elected to the National Assembly. But the assembly twice rebuffed his parliamentary immunity because of his rhetorical excesses



Police confront black squatters: occupy goals for the economic crisis

and street fights. In one election brand with a North African, he lost the right in his left eye.

While in office Le Pen volunteered for the Algeria War, where the Algerian police charged him with using electric-shock tactics on a young Algerian. That bloody, divisive war—President

Charles de Gaulle's unsuccessful bid to keep Algeria under French control—represented the last major show of force of the French extreme right. Le Pen remained on the shadowy margins of France's political life until 1972 when he founded the National Front.

Le Pen began retooling his image in a quest for respectability only after Hubert Lambert, an eccentric millionaire, in his 1975 will left the former paratrooper his fortune and a château overlooking Paris. Le Pen now wears name-branded shirts, a glass eye has replaced his black patch, and he has traded his little approach for a slick, thousand-dollar rhetoric. He denies that he is anti-Semitic. But he hints at anti-semitic laws with thinly veiled slurs: "I do not see why Jews should have superior protection than other Frenchmen," he declared. Le Pen no longer openly attacks Arabs or blacks, but he opposes what he calls "Islamic-Arab hegemony."

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noisy" still, he allows his followers to make more specific aims in the name of freedom of speech. When a National Front candidate warned in a November television that "Arabs will eat your soup, sleep with your wife, your daughter and even your son," Le Pen dismissed the verbal attack as harmless maches. Those subtle—and more open—invitations to hate have struck a dark cord in French society. Declared Le Pen, "I say out loud what other people whisper in secret."

Le Pen has attracted a motley grab bag of France's disaffected, young, right-to-lifers and frightened working-class voters with his simplistic solutions for the country's economic problems. Ironically, Mitterrand's government, after repeatedly rejecting Le Pen's claims that sending foreign workers home would wipe out unemployment, unwittingly fueled it recently by offering immigrants in France's faltering luxury industries a 90,000-franc (\$6,400) bonus for returning to their countries. Some observers say that the Socialist arrival in power provoked right-wing hard-liners to come out of the closet. Indeed, the National Front has won a growing number of members from the conservative Mouvement party under Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac. Said Michelle Brion, one of the four National Front delegates to Dureux's city council: "Chirac was too soft after the arrival of the socialist-Communists in power. In a crisis you have to be energetic." But another *Soifus* study of National Front membership last month showed that many new recruits were disenchanted defectors from the Left, as well. 50 per cent had voted for Mitterrand in the last presidential elections.

Indeed, the National Front has made its largest gains among the working class on whom the Socialist government depends for its support. Jean Renaud, a historian of the French Right, points out that Le Pen is profiting from the same wellspring of alienation that launched his onetime mentor, Poulque. In 1936, an economic crisis coupled with a fear of social change and a distrust of the classical political structure.

Renaud's analysis offers some comfort to the political observers who see the crisis—and the National Front's rise—continuing. They predict that Le Pen may well succeed in gaining the 10 to 15 per cent of votes that he is aiming for in June's European parliamentary elections. The possibility of the National Front gaining access to a wider forum is a disturbing prospect to many people at a time when the fate of Europe's 14.6 million unemployed workers remains the continent's most volatile human rights issue.

—MARCI McDONALD in Paris.

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# A Communist crusader

When 70-year-old Joseph Zuker retired last fall as a Winnipeg city councillor, he warned his colleagues that he had no intention of "fading away." Zuker, a member of the Communist Party of Canada, had defended the city's poor and working class for 42 years. During that time his supporters often praised him for being "the conscience of city hall." True to his word, three months after stepping down because of fatigue and hypertension Zuker reappeared at city hall to lead a successful citizens' protest against a council initiative to award itself a generous new pension plan. The proposal would have provided council members with the best benefits for municipally elected officials in Canada. But a handful council voted in late February to reduce the planned benefits by 40 per cent. Declared Zuker, "I have never seen a more senseless act than to award such a large pension to a group of men and women who have worked for the city for 40 years. It is a disgrace." Zuker has had a stormy but illustrious career. As a school trustee in the



Zuker's indignation and anger

1940s he fought successfully for better schools, free textbooks and higher teachers' salaries. The fiery orator served as a city councillor from 1965 to 1983 and he made an unsuccessful bid for the mayor's office in 1989. Political experts have said that Zuker could have become a judge or a provincial cabinet minister if he had served his time with the Communist Party. But Zuker dismisses these claims. He has always believed that he could best serve the people from city hall. Said Zuker, "I am firmly convinced that city politics is not back-bench politics where you get back-bench politicians who think city hall is a matter of living politics."

The Ukrainians-born Zuker grew up surrounded by poverty, prejudice and class conflict in Winnipeg's working-class North End. During the 1930s he studied law at the University of Manitoba so that he could "help those who were defenceless and voiceless." While there, he developed a keen interest in left-wing politics. Zuker says he has never been a dogmatic Communist; that civic issues and contentious situations came before ideology. But he paid heavily for his party membership. When he was a school board trustee, the board never permitted him to attend a national education conference. During the McCarthy era in the early 1950s his law firm, Zuker and associates, lost clients who feared RCMP investigations. And a small group of lawyers attempted unsuccessfully during that same period to have the Manitoba Bar Association disbar him because of his Communist affiliation.

Now, most Winnipeggers seem to consider Zuker to be an older statesman. His wife of 46 years, Clara, 68, receives telephone calls from citizens who say that if Zuker stands for communism, then they too are Communists. But Zuker still has critics. Deputy Mayor James Erniel, for one, an 11-year veteran of civic politics, argues that Zuker's low birth status as "unemployed" Erniel said Zuker has a number of political enemies, but he conceded that "That does not mean they do not respect him."

The Zukers still live in Winnipeg's North End, in a modest, white house. On weekdays Zuker rises at dawn and goes to his downtown law office on Portage Avenue. In the future he plans to write essays about civil rights, recallable also in helping to form a left-wing coalition for the next civic election in 1988. Retirement is now the last thing on his mind. Said Zuker, who is convinced that he has many influences outside city hall than he did as a member "There is always unfinished work."

—ANDREW MACPHEE  
in Winnipeg

# Boredom and the New Democrats

By Charles Gordon

It is not surprising that the NDP is getting a new pollster. Pollsters are supposed to produce good numbers, otherwise why have one? The NDP's numbers have been terrible for months.

If you were the NDP you would be shocked by the polls. Your party has been misreading its own business, behaving itself, raising the usual questions in the House of Commons at Meafville, in the period in which the most recent polls were taken. The Tories were squabbling among themselves, fighting each other for nomination, the Liberals were squabbling about their leader, and gone for all intents and purposes, the economic recovery was slowing, and unemployment was still high. Yet here, in the polls, the Tories are holding on to a good lead, the Liberals are gaining, and the NDP is falling back. If you were the NDP, you wouldn't like a pollster much if he gave you figures like that.

You might hire a political scientist to explain it all to you. He would tell you about shifting demographics, the growing importance of single-interest groups, the decline of traditional patterns of political loyalty formation, the sponge in representative mass orientation—all this plus the odd factor we've been having and the increasing popularity of front-wheel drive.

So you would fine the political scientist, of course, but where do you go then for an understanding of what has happened to your party? Right in a nutshell, the thing the political scientist neglected to tell you is that the people despised to be entertained. The competition for the voters' attention is intense—television, motion picture, and so on, the local or home entertainers, the most gaudiest of all sort or another. If a political party waste away by paying attention to it, it has to provide more than pecking quavens in the House and a clear stand on El Salvador.

It has to give the people what they demand—thrills, suspense, jealousy, naked ambition, the stuff of the human drama, plus the occasional thump of a body hitting the carpet. The Tories are masters at that, and it is worth noting that their popularity really began to take off in the days when the headlines were full of plots against Joe Clark's leadership. The Liberals are tides in their bloodletting, but their peck in the polls has coincided with the most intense period of Trudeau-must-go

anxiety from impatient members of his party.

Blasphemy will continue as an accelerated pace as the Liberals elude each other about the head in the run-up to their leadership convention. The Tories, too, must be expected to slacken off. Although there was a danger, after their convention, that they would actually begin liking each other, it was never really serious. Soon, party members discovered the language issue, and bodies began to thump on the carpet again.

The Tories have never lost the knack of putting on a great show, and the Liberals, after years in semi-retirement, are returning to showbiz with a vengeance. It is Dallas on one channel, Dynasty on the other. And on the third—well, some documentary on the danger of seriously diseased food additive. While the Liberals pointed each other for position in anticipation of the Trudeau re-

***If the NDP wants to find out how to get people to pay attention to it, then it should hire a movie critic'***

turnout, while the Tories slugged each other on the back, forgetting to take the knives out of their hands, what were the New Democrats doing? They were getting along OK, there was a mild kerfuffle at their convention, but otherwise when a couple of them, badly amplified by a disinterested starved press, talked a little about leadership but nothing came of it. One guy actually said he was serious, but he had been misled away from reporters and then, when trapped in a washroom, refused to say why. Finally, he said he wasn't running after all. The media took their exercise back to more interesting parties, and the usual 1,200 people, interested in their houses for the Guelph, decided that the NDP was worth only about 13 per cent of their voting intentions.

Assuming that a three-party system was being kept—and it is, if only because it confuses the Americans—the show has to be something. So far, all it has done is embarrass the other parties. Most recently, the NDP leader has called the Liberal-Conservative fight a "battle of the banks," referring to the business affiliations of Brian Mulroney and the

putative leader of the Liberals, Jean Turkel. All that accomplished is to make voters wonder why the NDP doesn't have a bank too.

Besides, as we have seen, criticizing other parties causes far less excitement than criticizing your own. The voters have seen enough of this show days. Unemployed voters have the most leisure time of all. The people crave entertainment. They need a sense that the leadership of the NDP is worth having. How can it be worth having if New Democrats are not holding themselves up to little social-democratic piety over it?

Here is a three-point recovery program for the NDP:

1. Support far less cruise missile testing. That will create instant dissension within the party, demands for the leader's resignation and a considerable amount of futile knife work by would-be successors. The importance of opposition to the cruise as a platform has been overestimated. Cruise opponents within the Liberals to support the Prime Minister's peace initiative. When the cruise was tested they said, "I didn't hear anything." Above all, the cruise, as an issue, is only an issue. Issues are not entertainment.

2. Increase support for the National Energy Program. A wide rift between the federal party and the provincial parties needs to be created in order to attract the voters' attention. The Tories, with their bitter loathe-hate struggle over the Manitoba language question, gave a textbook example of how not to be successful. The federal New Democrats were able, in 1982, to alienate some Western supporters and cause dissonance within their caucus by supporting the Liberals on the Constitution. This was pre-empting, but there was little follow-through. In general, supporting Liberal policies has worked well for the Tories, as Mulroney shows, and the NDP should try more of it.

3. Develop secret policies. The NDP has been too obvious about its policies. The politicians coveting the most important, Turner and Mulroney, have kept all their policies pretty much to themselves. Most of Mystery are always exciting. If Broadbent were to declare that the NDP's policies were none of anybody's damn business, the party would take a step forward into the political of the '80s.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.

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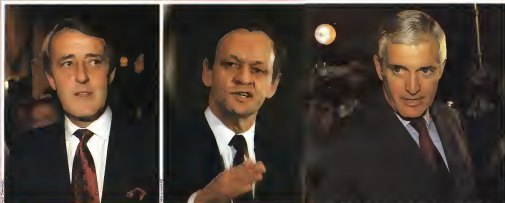


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COVER

## The new politics of language

By Carol Goss

Suddenly the Liberal leadership race was no longer a personality contest. A/E it took was one (re)defined remark by the early favorite, John Turner, on a subject that goes to the heart of Canadian autohood—the emotional and intractable issue of language rights. Turner's seemingly offhand suggestion that the Manitoba language dispute should be settled by "provincial initiative"—rather than by federal intervention—provoked a storm of controversy in the Liberal party. And even when Turner attempted to clear the air by affirming his belief that "Parliament must remain vigilant in the protection of the rights of minorities everywhere in Canada," the controversy refused to subside.

In fact, the Manitoba issue was engulfed the national political landscape last week. The province's long-festering language dispute not only gave Energy Minister Jean Chrétien, who entered

the Liberal leadership contest, a ready-made issue, but it continued to divide the Opposition Conservatives as well. During a private meeting at Stornoway, the Opposition leader's official home, Brian Mulroney and Rod Sherman, a prominent Manitoba Tory, tried to patch up their differences over efforts to extend the language rights of the province's 60,000 francophones. They failed to agree, leaving Mulroney—who has staunchly defended the francophone cause—at odds with the Manitoba party as he heads to Winnipeg this week to confront the dilemma anew.

Even in the North, positions over language faced after Northern Affairs Minister John Munro, who later in the week became a Liberal leadership candidate, declared that the Yukon and Northwest Territories would become officially bilingual. And in Ottawa, Mulroney has learned, a bitter debate erupted over the Manitoba issue at a Tuesday meeting of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's inner cabinet members

ministers who back Turner and those who do not. They disagreed over the role the Supreme Court should play in resolving the protracted language dispute—but in the end decided to ask the Supreme Court to rule on the issue. That was the course of action that Turner—at least in his initial statement on the issue—had appeared to oppose, and he shocked many Liberals by seeming to back off from the firm defence of minority language rights that had characterized the Trudeau era. Later in the week Turner modified his position, declaring that a judicial ruling might be necessary as a "last resort."

**Realigning:** Chrétien, who joined the leadership race at the height of the furor over Turner's statement, was quick to stake out a different position from Turner on the Manitoba situation. "The achievement of constitutionally protected minority language rights in every province is the proud heritage of the Liberals," he declared. "On this I shall not compromise." Although they were fighting words, Chrétien spoke

Mulroney, Chrétien and Turner (left to right) on a disputed remark and a national arena

with uncharacteristic restraint—perhaps aware that a Liberal feud over bilingualism is the last thing the party needs now as it tries to close the gap with the Tories. Many of Chrétien's supporters expected a fiery speech in fiery straightforward style. But, as he later explained, "It was not an occasion for belligerence. It was a solemn moment I was declaring myself a pretender to be the successor of Laurier and Mackenzie King and St. Laurent and Pearson and Trudeau."

For all of that, it was clear that the Liberals now had a passionate defender of their traditional doctrine of linguistic equality contesting the leadership. As the race toward the June leadership convention gathered momentum, the party faced an alarming new prospect. For the first time in this century it seemed possible that the Liberals might be divided on the language question. Dennis Dawson, one of Turner's strongest francophone supporters, acknowledged the setback when he said, "The whole issue will blow over in a week or so. But I wish it had never happened."

The immediate cost of Turner's unexpected pronouncement was apparently high: he lost the support of five ministers who were committed to him and two who had been lending his name. Per-

haps most important, he forfeited his only area of invulnerability. "Now we know there is a man under the Supreme Court," said Quebec MP Pierre Dagenais, a Turner supporter who tried to put the affair in a favorable light. For his part, Mulroney rebuffed Turner for amending his position and declared, "If that's experience, I'll have none of it."

In Quebec, where Turner came under heavy fire from critics across a wide political spectrum, the long-term political consequences could be serious (page 32). "It has not cut on one iota of support," insisted Quebec Liberal MP Jean Lagimodière, a Turner backer. But Angeleno Liberal MP Robert Gaud, a Chrétien supporter, said that Turner had slipped badly. "He has been out of politics so long that he is probably out of touch," Gaud said. Chrétien himself, in an interview with Maclean's, made only one indirect reference to Turner's statement. Observed Chrétien, "It turned out it was not me who fumbled the ball on the first play."

**Strategy:** In Manitoba, where the language issue has raged for the past six months, francophone reaction to Turner's initial statement was predictably vehement. Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs, who has not yet come out in support of any leadership candidate, said that Turner's state-

ments had shown him in a new light. Turner, she said, "was a golden son, and everything thought he would be covered. He tripped a little. Maybe we should have another look at him." But Grant Russell, spokesman for Manitoba Francophones, a coalition of Manitobans opposed to the entrenchment of language rights in the Constitution, concluded that Turner's position was a deliberate strategy to win western support. "Turner feels that he has to break into the West, and it could be that this is the way he has chosen to do it," he said. "Politically it is a very astute move."

Elsewhere in Western Canada reaction was mixed. Arthur Walsh, president of the Conservative association in Vancouver-Quadra riding, where there is a spending race that Turner might win, said that Turner had "been one of the muckrakers so long he does not know what is going on." But Rod Sykes, a Liberal and former mayor of Calgary, said that "Turner's position is quite popular. I'd support it myself."

**Impact:** Throughout the week Turner's strategists tried to contain the damage. The Bay Street lawyer—who the night before was one of federal publicists—had been briefed for every conceivable question, including the Manitoba dispute. "We had been over this for two years," said one of his key strategists. But Turner evidently underestimated the impact that his views on language would have. When a reporter asked for Turner's thoughts on the Manitoba situation on March 16, he replied cautiously, "I think we have to recognize that what is at issue here is a provincial initiative and that a solution will have to be provincial," he said. "I would hope that it would be resolved by the political process and not by the judicial process." If there was any doubt that Turner meant what he said, he removed it three days later in a CTV interview on Canada A.M., affirming that "Provincial services for French languages within a province should be a matter of provincial initiative."

That statement obviously at odds with traditional Liberal policy, which has held that the protection of the rights of either of Canada's constitutionally protected linguistic minorities is, in the final analysis, a federal responsibility. Turner's Minister of Northern Affairs, the MP for Winnipeg-Port Garry, eloquently defended the stand in Parliament last month. "There are some in my province who argue that this House has no business in the issue," said Averchuk. "They are dead wrong. This is an issue for the Canadian Library."

While the controversy grew, Turner's supporters demanded a clarification. "A lot of first-timers will have to be done," said Quebec's Deniger, "so



The Manitoba legislature: a long-lasting dispute anguishes the nation

## COVER

convinced our delegation that [Turner] understands the federal role in French language laws." By Tuesday, Turner and his aides were on the phone, urgently convincing supporters for advice. "He is kidding himself but not being very specific," said a senior campaign official. "And we are all upset about the amount of emotion the issue has generated."

Then on Thursday—still relating interviews—Turner issued a 115-paragraph "clarification" which affirmed his commitment to the principle that the federal government has a duty to intervene, if necessary, to protect the rights of a French or English minority but noted that the extension of language services within a province was a provincial responsibility. "If I am elected leader of the Liberal party," the statement concluded, "it would be my clear commitment to promote and protect the minority rights of Canadians." Most Liberals, including Anwerthy, accepted the statement as a welcome return to the traditional party view. Indeed, after two lengthy meetings with Turner, Anwerthy as-

sured that, instead of running himself, he will renege Turner's campaign. But none remained skeptical. Former prime minister Joe Clark accused Turner of being "on all sides of the question" and of "looking refuge in ambiguity."

Ironically, the week-long controversy about Turner's views on linguistic rights may have diverted attention from the older significance of his statements. Underlying his Manitoba stance was the belief that Liberals in Ottawa have been too eager to tell the provinces how

they should govern, and a willingness to rethink the sharing of power between Canada's competing levels of government. A senior adviser said that in the leadership campaign Turner will launch a whole new approach to federal-provincial relations. But it will take some skillful juggling on Turner's part to transform the Manitoba controversy into the first step along the road to better relations between Ottawa and the provinces.

Manitoba's linguistic troubles are rooted in the peculiar legal history of the province, whose French-speaking Métis population outnumbered Anglophones when Manitoba was created in 1870. The Manitoba Act of that year gave English and French equal status as official languages. But within two decades a flood of immigrants made English the majority language, and in 1890 the provincial legislature made English the sole official language of the courts and the legislature. Despite periodic flare-ups over the use of French in the schools, Manitoba's official bilingualism, provided until 1975 when the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the province had gone beyond its powers in declaring itself English-only. That jeopardized the legal status of thousands of provincial statutes. In an attempt to resolve the issue, Premier Howard Pawley's new government last year introduced legislation that would have made Manitoba officially bilingual and extended language services to Manitoba's francophones—over 50 per cent of the population. But the Opposition Tories, after a month of bitter debate, forced Pawley to postpone the legislation and let the language legislation die.

Lawmakers felt all avenues were not closed. While Pawley was searching for a political solution, the case of a historic traffic ticket was working its way through the courts. Roger Blodden, a Winnipeg lawyer, was contesting a speeding violation on the grounds that he received his ticket in English only. Since his court case could prove pivotal in the language rights issue, the federal government—as it often does in landmark court cases—offered to help Blodden with his legal costs. The case is currently before the Supreme Court of Canada.

That set the stage for last week's cabinet showdown. Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan sought to curvace his cabinet colleagues that rather than extracting the fate of Manitoba's entire legal system to a court decision

on a single traffic ticket, Ottawa should ask the Supreme Court to consider the larger question of whether all Manitoba's English-only laws are invalid. Several of MacGuigan's cabinet colleagues—most notably Anwerthy and Trevor Menard Gerald Regan, who also declared for Turner last week—adamantly opposed the justice minister's plan. They argued that the federal government should not risk alienating the Pask government by an anomalous intervention.

Throughout the ensuing cabinet battle, Trudeau, for the most part, played the role of impartial chairman. But one cabinet member told it was the previous cabinet debate he could remember. Finally, the competing factions compromised. MacGuigan undertook to secure the support of the Manitoba government in his plan to go to the Supreme Court so that Ottawa could not be accused of being high-handed, and he immediately convinced Manitoba's attorney general, Roland Penner. Then, late in the week MacGuigan announced that the federal government would indeed take its case to the Supreme Court.

**Legislation:** The prospect of yet another Supreme Court challenge, this time from Canada's North, resulted in a surprise move by Ottawa last week to impose official bilingualism in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. Government and native leaders responded angrily when Menard announced in Yellowknife that Ottawa intended to introduce legislation making both the federally administered territories officially bilingual. In Whitehorse, Yukon territorial government leader Chris Peterson denounced the federal initiative as "gross, despicable, outrageous and abhorrent." Menard acted after Daniel St. Jean, one of the Yukon's 225 French-speaking residents—who make up less than one per cent of the population—refused to pay two speeding fines because the tickets were written only in English. Menard said he wanted the bill introduced before Thursday, when an appeal of St. Jean's conviction was scheduled, because a victory for St. Jean could mean that every piece of legislation ever passed by the territorial governments could be challenged before the courts because they were not written in French. St. Jean was pleased, but a little startled. "I had no idea that it would go that far," he said. "I only asked for an inch of legal rights, and they are giving everybody a foot."

Meanwhile, in Ottawa the focus on Manitoba's language problems raised new problems for Mulroney. For six months he had struggled to stay on good terms with his provincial counterparts in Manitoba, while refusing to accept



their fierce opposition to any extension of language rights. To make matters worse, several of his own federal caucus members were privately opposed to their leader's dictum that they either support his stand on bilingualism or remain silent on the issue. In an attempt to defuse the situation, Mulroney invited deputy provincial leader Bud Sherman—who has been thinking of contesting Anwerthy's federal Winnipeg seat—to his home for a secret Sunday meeting. But Sherman said to Ottawa, on the same plane as an Anwerthy aide, who tipped off reporters that the Manitoba was in the capital. "It was pretty civilized," said a Tory spokesman, but he admitted that the 10-to-10 tie resolved nothing. Back in Winnipeg, Sherman

man, a former journalist, called an informal news conference to declare that "The position our national leader has taken reflects that he has had bad advice. He does not fully understand the issue as it exists in Western Canada."

Mulroney planned to be in Winnipeg this week to try once again to repair relations with the Manitoba Tories. But he had no intention of backing from his commitment to extend francophone rights in Manitoba. "The principle is non-negotiable," said Mulroney's press aide, Bill Fox. "He is going to try to explain his position—but his feeling is that ultimately you have to go into the lion's den." The federal Tory leader apparently received warnings from local Tories to stay away until passions cooled but he believed that he owed it to party members to make a personal appearance and discuss the issue.

**George Urdun Turner** made his controversial statement on the Manitoba dispute. The Tories were alone in being painfully split on the issue. Now they have company. The party's main Quebec ally, Rick LaBalle, gleefully denounced Turner. "He wants to protect the two sides, but it's impossible," said LaBalle. "And he refuses to prove his courage." Added Fox: "Our guys are not used to seeing Liberals divided on an issue like this, and it has been terrific for them." But for the nation as a whole, there was little comfort to be found in last week's explosive and often confusing debate—and little hope for an easy solution to the country's language problems.

With Minister Chagnon in Québec, Mary Joannet in Ottawa, Robert Bled in Toronto, Andrew Hayman in Winnipeg, Dale Fisher in Regina, Suzanne Stenham in Calgary, David Lindsay in Vancouver and Heather Shandell to Whistler.

Anwerthy (above): the Supreme Court building in Ottawa: a stormy cabinet debate



Sherman (left) and Carstairs: taking another look at Turner



# Canada's Rail Expansion.

## TO MEET THE DEMAND OF A GROWING WORLD.

### THE CROW'S NEST PASS AGREEMENT.

The Crow's Nest Pass Agreement was signed in 1897. It provided federal assistance for the construction of a 300 mile rail line through the Crow's Nest Pass in the Rocky Mountains. In return, CPR agreed to a fixed rate of half a cent per ton per mile to transport grain. In 1897, the Crow Rate covered the full cost of moving grain. By 1982, it covered only 20% of the railway's real costs. The Crow Rate was never intended to prevent the modernization and expansion of our railway transportation system, or to create distortions in Western Canada's economy. But these were the effects it produced.



### THE WESTERN GRAIN TRANSPORTATION ACT.

The new Western Grain Transportation Act is more than simply a piece of legislation that brings western grain freight rates into line with today's costs. The new Act means the revitalization of a rail system that has been deteriorating for twenty years. Billions of dollars in new investment means farmers will be able to ship all they grow. And it means renewed economic growth for all of Canada.

### CANADA'S RAIL EXPANSION. TO MEET THE DEMANDS OF A GROWING WORLD.

The Western Grain Transportation Act proclaimed on November 28, 1982, marked the beginning of the largest national construction undertaking since the building of Canada's railways in the last century. Over the next ten years, the Government of Canada and the national railways will invest billions of dollars in our rail transportation system.

Over the last two decades, there has been a continual rise in world demand for grain and grain products. At the same time, a growing world has increased demand for coal from British Columbia, sulphur from Alberta, potash from Saskatchewan and other Canadian resources.

All of these products move by rail and in peak years like the 1978/79 crop year, the system backs up. That year, Canada lost about \$600 million in export grain sales. The only solution is to increase rail capacity. And that's exactly what the Western Grain Transportation Act is designed to do.

Billions of dollars will be spent on labour, materials and equipment over the next ten years. The new Act stipulates that Canadian suppliers be used, and that purchasing must be done in the region where the investment is being made. This will spur industrial development and economic growth right across the country.

### MORE THAN 300,000 JOBS FOR CANADIANS.

Canada's Rail Expansion is expected to create more than 300,000 jobs in



a wide range of occupations over the next decade. Major projects like ten miles (16 km) of new tunnel through the Rogers Pass double tracking many parts of the

system and expanded repair and port facilities will create thousands of construction jobs.

Many more jobs will be generated in the manufacturing and resources sectors to produce the materials needed for expansion. And an expanded rail system will require additional rolling stock and maintenance support, creating still further employment.

### CANADIAN MANUFACTURERS FIRST IN LINE.

Manufacturers across the country will feel the impact of Rail Expansion orders almost immediately. Corners, bridge materials, steel, castings, steel fabrication, track maintenance machinery and workshop and construction equipment will be needed. Further orders will follow as the railways begin to expand their locomotive fleets and acquire more rolling stock.

### ELECTRONICS AND TECHNOLOGY.

Over \$500 million will be invested to make Canada's rail system one of the most technologically advanced in the world.

Canadian manufacturers will supply computerized traffic control systems, computer controlled signal systems and hot box detector systems.

### STEEL AND LUMBER.

In 1984 alone, nearly 5 million feet will be ordered from Canadian lumber suppliers. This and other huge orders along with additional work in wood treatment plants will mean more jobs for Canadian lumber industry workers.



Millions of tonnes of steel will be supplied by Canadian industry for the double tracking of a significant part of the western rail system.

Orders for new bridges, rail cars and diesel engines will also play a part in the recovery and expansion of Canada's steel industry.

### SHORT AND LONG TERM BENEFITS.

The construction phase of Canada's Rail Expansion will inject billions of dollars into the Canadian economy over the next ten years. And guaranteeing grain and other resource producers access to world markets creates long term trade opportunities that will ultimately benefit all Canadians.



Transport Canada  
Lloyd Axworthy, Minister

Transport Canada  
Lloyd Axworthy, Minister



Canada



# Chrétien runs on the Liberal record

The packed bus left Shawinigan, Que., at six o'clock in the morning. Jean Chrétien, the pulp and paper city's favorite son, was about to declare his candidacy for the Liberal leadership, and the voters he had served for the past 20 years wanted to play a part in the event. "The road was pretty slippery," recalled Paul Simard, an unemployed machanic who joined 66 of his neighbors to make the 400-km trip to Ottawa. "But we had to come and tell

year-old minister grabbed her hand, grinned at his friends and apologized for the delay, explaining that he had been held up in the House of Commons. "My first duty has always been to Parliament," he reminded his audience, in an oblique reference to the fact that Turner, absent from politics for the past eight years, had no such worries.

Indeed, the leadership announcements of Chrétien and Turner, held five days apart, were a study in contrasts—

in a list report the matter could go before the courts. But Chrétien promised to be an uncompromising fighter for minority language rights. "Conventionally protected minority language rights in every province have become a Canadian responsibility," he declared. On the second major theme of the campaign so far—the mismanagement of Ottawa's towering \$30-billion deficit—Chrétien again differed with Turner, who had said that the deficit must be re-



Chrétien (center) with Premier (left) and Quebec MP Claude Lévesque. A strong challenger to Turner and a man of different ideas

people that Jean Chrétien is what the country needs—a true Canadian."

And they did just that at a hometown press conference punctuated by loud cheers from the home town contingent when Energy Minister Jean Chrétien entered the Liberal party race last week. A total of 32 Liberal MPs and senators greeted Chrétien onto the platform in an impressive display of party loyalty designed to encourage signs that his early support was trickling away to the apparent leading contender, J. Peter Turner. Chrétien himself bounded onto the stage in the gilt-edged Rover 900 of Parliament's West Block 350 minutes late, scattering the crowd for his wife, Alice. When he found her, the 50-

Turner's press conference polished and glossy, Chrétien's unbuttoned and noisy. "I am pleased," declared Chrétien, "to announce that I will seek the leadership of the Liberal Party of Canada and am willing to assume the heavy burden of Prime Minister of Canada—the country which I love so passionately."

Fightback: Chrétien's entry into the race provided the Liberals not only with a strong challenger to Turner but with a man of distinctly different views on key issues—including the Manitoba language dispute. At his press conference Turner, originally suggested that Ottawa should let Manitoba find its own solution, although he later stated that

doled, possibly by increasing taxes. Chrétien was unequivocal on the deficit, noting that to balance the nation's books merely to demonstrate fiscal responsibility could "condemn hundreds of thousands of our young people to the misery of unemployment, despair and lost hopes."

Although Chrétien's demeanor to run as he surprised, the formal announcement was later than expected. Chrétien was the 31th of the six contenders to launch a bid. The reason for his delay was a serious case of intestinal distress. In recent weeks Chrétien watched as several Quebec MPs on whom he had counted to support him quietly moved over to Turner's camp.

He was also concerned that he would not be able to raise the estimated more than \$1 million he felt would be necessary for a campaign. Finally, four days before his press conference, Turner announced as Patrick LaBelle, president of the Automotive Manufacturers' Association of Canada and one of Chrétien's key supporters and fund raisers, assured him that he could afford to go ahead. But, perhaps most reassuring of all, the progress and ongoing Chrétien, who boasts his engaging personality as his prime asset, had to listen as Liberal colleagues, many of them Québécois, dunned him as an accomplished newspaper who used his door-to-door sales and fractured English to endear himself to Anglophone Canada.

Chrétien's "pet snapper" issues in part fact and part act. Born in the northeastern Quebec community of Belgoise, which was subsequently absorbed by Shawinigan, Chrétien grew up in a far-pastor dwelling owned by the Belgo Paper Co. (later bought out by Consolidated Bathurst Ltd.) Joseph-Jacques Jean was the 18th of 19 children—only nine survived infancy—born to Marie-Rose and her husband, Wilfrid, a machanic at the Belgo mill and a Liberal party organizer. Young Jean showed an early affinity for politics. "He was interested at age eight or 10 or 11," recalled his second-oldest brother, Marcel, a retired Shawinigan police officer.

Reverend: But Chrétien was hardly a model student and sometimes playfully refers to himself as the "black sheep" of the clan that changed when he met Alice Chénier, the eldest daughter of a local aluminum company worker. He was 16, she 15, and they were his first and only romance. Also gave Chrétien an impetus to succeed. The couple married when Chrétien was in his second year of law school at Laval university, where he was president of the controversial Liberal club. He went on to start up a law partnership with three other lawyers in Shawinigan while trying to decide if he should concentrate on federal or provincial politics. In 1962 he had made up his mind and tried far—when the Liberal nomination in the riding of St-Maurice-Lafleche in his home town.

Since then Chrétien has held all the

major cabinet jobs with the exception of external affairs and, although he has been involved in controversial issues, he has never been in the news on himself or the government. "I am part of the Liberal record and proud of it," he said last week. "I have no intention of hiding the record of the past 20 years."

Chrétien does have detractors. One federal official ridiculed Chrétien's assertion that money would not be longer than a page. No intellectual, Chrétien does possess a quick mind and sharp political instincts. And if there has been one constant in his political



The Chrétien clan (left to right): Hubert, Michel, Jean, Alice, France with her son, Olivier, and her husband, André Desmarais

career, it is that nearly everybody loses him, even when they disagree with him. Still, Chrétien's family manner could be a handy asset in the leadership race, as he himself is aware. "I am enjoying and I joke about myself," he said last week, "and when you do that, people get very comfortable with you. But others feel that you have to be an imperial type to be Prime Minister."

Over the years Chrétien has acquired a circle of broadly loyal friends. One of them, Northern Ontario MP Keith Penner, a strong supporter as the Liberal ascent, revealed that the hard-working minister "came to my riding and helped in 1979" when redistribution put two-thirds of his riding into new territory.

"You do not forget something like that." Virtually all the members of Chrétien's campaign team have personal ties with the candidate. John Rae, his campaign manager and a vice-president of Power Corp. in Montreal, served as his executive assistant in the early 1960s. Eddie Goldenberg, a key supporter and son of former senator Carl Goldenberg, has been the minister's closest adviser for almost a decade. Chrétien also has supporters in most parts of the country. The West Coast group includes former federal environment minister Ian Macdonald and Ross Fitzpatrick, an investment analyst who acted as Turner's campaign manager in 1969. Barbara Sullivan, a long-time Liberal strategist, is the provincial co-ordinator, while in Nova Scotia MP David Dingwall, Chrétien's parliamentary secretary, is chief Atlantic organizer.

Jokes: Chrétien's most devoted supporter is his devoted wife, Alice. As a long-time family friend put it, "She is his primary adviser." Alice is recovering from a recent gall bladder operation, but she hopes to be at her husband's side at the announcement in June. In an interview with Macdonald last week she said that she and her husband began discussing a possible leadership bid in 1979. "Then, when Trudeau resigned, we started saying maybe, and then, why not?"

Chrétien's run at the leadership will leave him with even less time at home to spend with his sons, Hubert, 18, and Michel, 15. His daughter, France, 36, who is married to David Desmarais, vice of Power Corp. chairman, Paul Desmarais, lives in Montreal and has two children.

The battle that Chrétien faces for the Liberal leadership will be a tough one, and one he could easily lose. But the man from Shawinigan was undoubtedly away from a fight. When he asked his wife whether or not he should go for the leadership, she knew that he had to. "I felt that he had no choice," she said. "If he had not run, he would have regretted it."

—CAROL GOAN in Ottawa

## Quebec reacts to the Manitoba issue

Ever since the Manitoba language issue exploded into national headlines last September, French-speaking Quebecers often have followed the dispute with grim fascination. Last week that fascination turned into alarm when John Turner's suggestion that Ottawa should let the province settle its own language problems—a proposal that, for different reasons, troubled both of Quebec's main language groups—in a stinging editorial in the influential Montreal newspaper *Le Devoir*, editor in chief Louis Rousseau attacked Turner by declaring, "The man he talks about the Manitoba affair, the more he demonstrates that he does not know the issue well!"

Reaction among Quebec's anglophone majority was even sharper. Some feared that as Liberal leader, or Prime Minister, Turner would not vigorously defend the rights of linguistic minorities at a time when the community continues to fight for recognition of its own language. In Montreal, Ned McKenry, host of radio's popular *radio talk show*, held an impromptu poll asking listeners whom they would prefer for the Liberal leadership. The largely English-speaking audience voted 54 to 32 for McKenry. McKenry then charged Turner, dismissing the Swiss lawyer as a "fascist," a "quitter" and "the Man from Glad." At the same time, Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney, who was interviewed on the same program, charged that "Turner's position is that he is going to sell a million anglo-Quebecers and franco-Manitobans down the river." Turner's clarification of his statement later in the week did not still the controversy.

**Swissness:** The battle to extend French-language rights in Manitoba and Turner's stand on the issue have considerable significance for both of Quebec's main linguistic groups. While many francophones in Quebec are angered by the resistance to bilingualism in Manitoba, Quebec anglophones fear that softness in Ottawa on the matter of rights for linguistic minorities would endanger their own survival in Quebec. As a result, Turner's initial statements brought about strange alliances on the issue. Opponents of Turner's stand included both Quebec Liberals and Conservatives, francophone nationalists and defenders of anglophone rights in the province. Bob Barber, Marc, a provincial Liberal back-bencher and constitutional lawyer "The federal govern-

ment has a right and a duty to intervene when the rights it has guaranteed are not being upheld by it." His and other Liberals agreed with Mulroney, who said that Turner's first statement amounted to saying to Quebec's 700,000 anglophones, "I am hereby delivering you into the hands of [Quebec Premier] René Lévesque, and he can do with you what he wants."



Golden, why Manitoba and not Ontario?

Despite Turner's revised position on the issue, his campaign had already suffered from the confusion caused by his earlier remarks. "I think Turner did himself enormous damage," said a senior member of the federal Liberals' Quebec wing, who conducted a straw poll of 13 Liberals after Turner's initial statement and counted 39 votes for Chrétien and only three for Turner. "A week before, it would have been the other way around," he said, adding that he was not satisfied by Turner's subsequent "backtracking." Conservatives

party organizers in the province, who were suddenly able to present their party as a defender of linguistic rights in the country, were quick to capitalize on Turner's apparent blunder. Said Gary Ouellet, a party organizer in eastern Quebec: "We were frankly very worried about Turner... until he opened his mouth on this." As if to illustrate the point, approximately 2,000 Turner last week turned up for a rally celebrating meeting in Trois Rivières, a riding in which the party had only 500 members a year ago.

**Pride:** The implications of the Manitoba language dispute have aroused Quebec at a time when the province's own language battle has begun to subside. The Parti Québécois' seven-year-old Bill 101, which made French Quebec's sole official language, has served to bolster the pride and self-confidence of francophones, and last year Quebec City awarded Bill 101 to allow English and others greater freedom to function in their own language. "Rights over language are a thing of the past," said Liberal Leader Robert Bourassa. "We will argue certain points," he added, "but the climate is now free of acrimony." According to Eric Stedoff, president of the English-rich group Alliance Québécoise, the mood in the province now "is more encouraging for anglophones than it has been for years." But language rights still have the potential to be a highly volatile issue, as the response to Turner's remarks revealed. Warren Allmand, Liberal MP for the largely anglophone Montreal riding of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce-Lachine East, said Turner had "made a mistake." He added, "We already have enough people who are serious about minority rights without having this sort of confusion."

Ultimately, the most important aspect of the Manitoba language stars could be the political capital that the separatist Quebecers stand to gain from the Cultural Communities Minister Gerald Godin, who is responsible for the application of Bill 101, perceived Turner's position "more logical than Trudeau's ever was." He added, "Why intervene in Manitoba but not in Ontario?" In future campaigns to convince Quebecers to separate from Canada, the PQ will now have further ammunition to support its claim that Quebec is the only place in Canada in which francophones are really "at home."

—ANTHONY WILSON SMITH in Montreal

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# The Liberal leadership race heats up



Chrétien with his wife, Lily, entering the race of a dinner in Hamilton. by fair-haired boy

By Terry Hargreaves

The competitive to succeed Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau became much more intense last week as Energy Minister Jean Chrétien and Indian Affairs Minister John Manly entered the Liberal leadership race. There are now five cabinet ministers trying to become Prime Minister, and all share a common affinity: attacking John Turner. The former finance minister and Toronto lawyer is well clearly the early favorite, with endorsements from 11 cabinet ministers, but his controversial remarks on bilingualism made him a divisive target. "The selection of a leader is not far off," Chrétien said. "There is no fair-haired boy and there is no rubber-stamping." Chrétien, who wavered before deciding to run, made it clear that he would not initiate Turner's attempts to cut once himself from Trudeau. "I have no intention of being the [Liberal] mascot of the past 20 years," he said a cheering crowd of supporters.

To counter the Turner threat, the five other ministers were trying to develop policy positions that would separate them from the pack. Justice Minister

Mark McGuinn, for one, pleaded for financial restraint during the campaign, arguing that a \$1.6-billion ceiling on election expenses for each candidate was excessively high. For his part, Employment Minister John Robson suggested that the leadership candidates should hold a series of televised national debates in French and English—debates that the dove supporters would find difficult to cover if the field of declared candidates grows much larger. And with the campaign barely under way, Liberal insiders said that a "Stop Turner" coalition could emerge among Chrétien, Robson and Manly supporters.

In the meantime, other possible contenders reacted to the prospect of running. Supporters of Liberal party president Iona Campagnolo have bombarded her with bouquets of flowers and more than 1,000 letters, telegrams and telephone calls in the past three weeks, but she reiterated that she would not become the first woman in the new Turner/Minister Lloyd Axworthy, in turn, decided to become co-chairman of the Turner campaign. For his part, former Trudeau aide Jim Cowie said he would make his decision after a tour of the West this week.

There were no prominent Liberals present when Manly announced his candidacy, but that did not bother a man who has wanted to be Prime Minister since boyhood. The former lawyer has been an MP for 22 years and has held four cabinet positions in a parliamentary career marked by both triumphs and scandals. In 1976, as minister of labor, Manly successfully ended a nationwide Air Canada strike. But he had to resign from cabinet later that year after he telegraphed a Hamilton judge on behalf of a constable who was about to receive an assault conviction. Manly returned to the cabinet in 1988 in the Indian Affairs portfolio and since then has won the respect of senior leaders across Canada.

Manly is trying to present himself as a progressive Liberal. To that end, he began his leadership drive with a strong attack on Canadian banks. "They have been slow to lend and quick to collect from homeowners, farmers and small-businesses," he charged. "I think that they could be doing more to help us in the recovery from recovery to growth."

Manly and his rivals had an early chance to stake their positions on the weekend. They appeared before 2,000 delegates at the annual convention of the Ontario wing of the federal party in Toronto, and the Indian affairs minister made an open bid for left-wing support within the party by announcing that, as Prime Minister, he would stop crime-matrix testing in Canada. Knowledge Development Minister Donald Johnston made the most innovative bid for support with a large sign near the hotel where the convention was held. It read: "A free alternative." The delegate, however, was curious to see Turner in his first major public appearance since his controversial remarks on bilingualism. They gave him a warm welcome but reserved their loudest applause for Chrétien, who pointedly noted that he "had worked for the party in good times and times not so good for 20 years."

For his part, Turner performed well but he has lost the aura that surrounded him when he was an underdog challenger to the party. He is still the favorite in the race but now his last defeat seems determined opponents to win the prize. ☐



Passenger Ross Guard is helped to safety; no panic and only minor injuries

## Flight 501's fiery end

Flight 501, one of Pacific Western Airlines' 33 daily "airbus" flights between Calgary and Edmonton, was 30 minutes behind schedule last week when the Boeing 737 started down the runway at 7:40 a.m. But the two-engine jet, with 134 passengers and five crew members aboard, never left the ground. As the plane gathered speed on the main Calgary airport runway, fire broke out on the aircraft's left wing, forcing the pilot to apply the brakes and swing the landing plane onto an approach ramp. No one panicked during the emergency evacuation that followed, but 36 passengers suffered minor injuries, including flames that rapidly spread—then destroyed—the \$36-million aircraft.

Transport Canada officials promptly began investigating the cause of the fire, and it could take three weeks before they release a preliminary report. But a controversy immediately erupted over the speed and efficiency of evacuation procedures. Several passengers have already complained that the evacuation took too long. Marlene Antonio, the chairman of the province's human rights commission, who appeared last week sliding down an emergency chute, estimated that it took 16 minutes to clear the plane. "Shutdown time was no

slow," she said. "I could not figure out why it took [several personnel] so long to get to the plane."

For Flight 501's passengers, the accident itself was enough to absorb. Greg Skelton, a Calgary oil and gas engineer, watched in amazement as passengers calmly collected coats and briefcases. "About 10 people left before I did, and I got to the door I thought, 'I am going to get two feet from the door and this plane is going to blow up!'"

Skelton brushed his head, jumping to the terrace but he managed to take 35 dramatic photographs of the burning plane with a camera he rescued from the fire. As Skelton was capturing the swift eruption of flames, TWA flight attendant Greg Wynn was still inside the aircraft. Witting, who was one of the last to escape, risked his life crawling through a cabin filled with black smoke to confirm that every seat was empty. For Skelton, the shortest take-off was the longest time he had narrowly escaped an aviation disaster. Four years ago he was on board an Air Canada Boeing 747 that lost power in three of its four engines for 36 seconds before landing safely in Toronto Bay. Despite those near-misses, Skelton is keeping dry.

With Paul Jaraman in Edmonton.

## A judge stops the labor war

Organized labor and nonunion workers have been fighting at a construction site in downtown Vancouver for almost three weeks, but the site was quiet last week after the chief justice of the Supreme Court of British Columbia imposed peace on the battleground. False Creek, one of the most fashionable neighborhoods in the city, has been the setting for violent confrontations between hundreds of protesters and nonunion workers trying to complete a luxury condominium development that a union contractor began. But in a significant ruling that shocked the B.C. and Yukon Building Trades Council, Judge Alvin McEachern ordered all illegal picketing stopped at the site. He noted that council officials had deliberately ignored his order of March 8 limiting the number of pickets at the site. "There have been several potentially explosive situations, and new unfriendliness and animosity prevail at the site," he said.

The issue came to the fore when British Columbia's powerful organized labor movement, Unions picketing against the condominium is an attempt to halt the increasing use of nonunion labor by business and government. Construction union officials are worried that contractors using cheaper labor will put them out of business. The \$10-million building project at Expo 86, a world-class transportation fair which also will be held in False Creek. In the confrontation, project J.C. Kirkhoff and Sons originally submitted a \$10-million bid to build the site. But the union's reliance below the nearest offer made by a union contractor. And while unionized tradesmen can earn as much as \$25 an hour, nonunion workers receive between \$10 and \$15. But the union has built B.C. construction unions, and 60 per cent of the 60,000 members are unemployed.

Kirkhoff officials said that they would meet again after the site this week and would then be sent to jail in the police if there was trouble. Last week picketers surrounded two trucks attempting to enter the site and piled them, with empty bottles and stones, before letting the air out of the tires. Union workers would risk being fined if they disobeyed McEachern's order, and most of the protesters said that they would stop blocking the entrance to the site. "We considered the options and concluded that any other decision would be less desirable than that could weaken the trade union movement," said council president Ray Gierster. ☐

# Israel's broken coalition

By Arthur Johnson

It was a desperate move in a hopeless situation: Israel's governing Likud coalition, hoping to fend off early elections, sought an unprecedented secret vote last week on a bill dissolving the Knesset (parliament). But after a debate in which the opposition labelled the tactic fascist and undemocratic, Knesset Speaker Yehoshua Stemberger ruled against the government. In an open vote an opposition Labor motion to set dates for dissolving parliament and for holding an election carried 55 to 50 votes. The opposition's victory and the government's resort to desperate measures presaged a rough-and-tumble election campaign in a country plagued by 250-per-cent annual inflation and divided within on the war in Lebanon and the future of the West Bank.

Bitter rivalries and leadership disputes have already marred the election process, and what the opposition. Former defence minister Ariel Sharon has served notice that he will challenge Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir for leadership of the Likud. But if Shamir can outflank Sharon and delay the election date long enough this year, the Labor party's internal dissension may prove its undoing. The tension, the personality clash between Labor Leader Shimon Peres and former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin has become a full-blown power struggle. To make matters worse, former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, as yet another contender for Labor's leadership. And as the governing coalition seems shaky, Israel suddenly has a new political party. Former defence minister Ezer Weizman, a popular war hero who played a leading role in negotiations for the 1979 Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, announced that he will run as head of a new centrist party, campaigning on a promise to remove Israeli troops from Lebanon.

The event that precipitated the collapse of Shamir's shaky coalition was the desertion of the Tami party earlier in the week. The three Tami members

represent Israel's Sephardic Jews, poorer members of the community who have suffered disproportionately under the harsh restraint program introduced when Shamir became prime minister six months ago. If the Tami deputies had not decided to seek early elections, Shamir would have had to hang on con-

Not even Begin, weak and in isolation since his resignation, escaped Shamir's attempts to cling to power. Shamir urged Begin to attend the Knesset debate and support the government. But when the attempt to have a secret ballot failed and it became clear that the government would lose the vote, Begin stayed at home. Shamir even briefly pinned his hopes on the return from Argentina of coalition legislator Dror Zegerman, the prime minister's charge to delay the debate five hours until Zegerman arrived, but Peres scoffed. "A government that has to depend on small factions and on the return of one passenger in a plane that has not yet landed cannot make significant decisions." When Zegerman arrived he was met by a fellow Knesset parliamentarian sent to make sure he would vote with the government. He did, but his vote was irrelevant. Mordechai Ben-Porat, an independent in the Likud coalition, deserted the cause when Labor leaders assured him that they would set up a broad-based government of national unity if they won.

The government's attempt to have a secret ballot rested on a belief that a few disgruntled opposition members would bolt, even if they did not have to answer for their actions. But Labor's Moshe Shohat denounced the move as underhanded treachery. "Now, reveals our deepest fears about what Likud would do to democracy in this country if it ever came to power."

So strong was the resentment against the government's desperate move that one of its potential supporters resigned in disgust from the Knesset committee that digested the secret ballot move. "It is a dirty trick," said Yehuda Ben-Mor, a member of the National Religious Party, which is currently won popular support for its peace ambivalence and ambivalence to the foreign debt. But the result has been uncontrolled inflation, which engendered more widespread resentment. And while Shamir has pursued a policy of careful disengagement from Lebanon, the opposition Labor party has demanded immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the country.

With David Ben-Gurion in Jerusalem



Sharon, desperately moves before a rough election



Bedeviled child and French soldier: an active generation deprived of regular home life

LEBANON

## Caught in the cross fire

When workmen dismantled the barbed-wire security fence around the Hotel Bnei Brige in Lod, near Tel Aviv, the action was an ironic comment on the breakdown of the Lebanese reconciliation talks. Delegates could not find a formula for a political solution to the rivalry between the country's Christian and Muslim communities. All that emerged was an unsigned statement that called for new efforts to rescue a country that has been so deeply divided.

So strong was the resentment against the government's desperate move that one of its potential supporters resigned in disgust from the Knesset committee that digested the secret ballot move. "It is a dirty trick," said Yehuda Ben-Mor, a member of the National Religious Party, which is currently won popular support for its peace ambivalence and ambivalence to the foreign debt. But the result has been uncontrolled inflation, which engendered more widespread resentment. And while Shamir has pursued a policy of careful disengagement from Lebanon, the opposition Labor party has demanded immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the country.

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tracks, thronged by men, women and children, distributing relief aid: water, canned tuna, blankets, rice, candles and soap. Most refugees are forced to rely on charity because, Mrowa admitted, the government has run out of funds.

Anywhere else in the world, Ali Farhat, 18, might be starting his first job. Instead, he is sitting with his six relatives, who have fled between the capital and southern Lebanon four times in the past nine years. They are now living in a squalid, 100-sq-meter shack in a squatter's slum in West Beirut. Farhat has completed only Grade 8 because of school closures. He would like to finish but lacks any motivation to do so. "What future do I have?" he asked.

There is similar anxiety among the 10 members of the middle-class Said Ahmed family, which lives in the German-owned commercial district of Wazzani, after losing both homes in February. The room in which they live is a single small gas lantern which burns 10 worth of fuel every three hours. Walid Said Ahmed, 38, nervy changes from his pyjamas because he never ventures out to risk being caught in cross fire. But compared to others he is fortunate. About 500,000 people live in the Shrawiya camp on Hamra Street, in what once was Beirut's busiest shopping district.

But the children suffer most. Civil strife has deprived an entire generation of regular home life and schooling.

For Lebanon's destitute families, the failure of the Lebanese reconciliation talks offers only the prospect of more suffering. Syrian President Hafez al-Assad said last week that Lebanese reconciliation remains "a strategic objective" for his country. And Syrian Vice-President Hafez Khaddam was quoted as telling the main Lebanese factions represented in Lebanon: "At the next conference—and there will be one—there will be no sides you will come who will not make mistakes!" But diplomats doubted whether even Syria can enforce a peaceful solution on its Lebanese rebel clients. Last week Druze and Sunni Moslems fought a series of battles that killed at least 50 people. As the talks broke up, Druze leader Walid Jumblatt offered only a chilling warning: "Remember Shakespeare, beware the side of March." With Lebanon's Christian warlords in an increasingly intransigent mood, Jumblatt's threat promised only further bloodletting and chaos in the weeks ahead. ☐

# Hart's uneasy 'Yuppie' alliance



Mondale meeting with Chicago voters, a committed core of constituents

Walter Mondale's campaign plans had been hurtling across the South all day as the former vice-president chased votes for the upcoming primaries. Between appearances in Miami, Orlando, Jacksonville, Fla., Atlanta, Ga., Mobile, Ala. and Birmingham, Ala., two young black attendants offered Mondale, his staff and the traveling press corps neonate smilies and trays of wine, cheese and full-course meals. But when the plane landed in Birmingham for an airport rally, the two women ran swiftly down the corridor to the far end of the terminal, where Senator Gary Hart was also stopping for wine. Explained one: "We're from out West and we're backing Hart."

In more than a dozen primaries and caucuses held across the country so far, Hart's bid to win the Democratic presidential nomination has drawn broad support from like-minded young, urban professionals (Yuppies), but Mondale has claimed more delegates (229, compared to 307 for Hart). As a rule, Yuppies are white, upwardly mobile, well educated and under 40—the baby-boom generation come of age. Many are committed Democrats, but just as many are independents who supported John Anderson's failed candidacy in 1980 or even President Ronald Reagan.

New, disappointed with Reagan and uncertain about Mondale, the Yuppies

see Hart as the new apostle of their ambitions. For many, the memories of Vietnam are still vivid, and they respond positively to Hart's pledges to pull U.S. forces out of Central America, the Middle East and other trouble spots. But the question that haunts the Hart campaign is whether the Yuppies have enough political energy—and interest—to stay on side last week, de-

Hart campaigning in Illinois, running against the Democratic party establishment



spite their votes. Hart lost the crucial Illinois primary to Mondale by six percentage points. Although New Jersey Jackson captured fully 70 per cent of the black vote in Illinois, Mondale won the remainder—enough to claim victory in the most important primary to date. Hart also lost precinct caucuses in Minnesota, Mondale's home state. The Illinois result was particularly instructive because only days before the vote Hart had held a substantial 13-point lead in the polls. "In five days," said Mondale campaign director James Jackson, "we had something like a 50-point shift."

Political experts blamed part of that slip on Hart's campaign gaffes. He falsely asserted Mondale of losing a negative TV commercial, then aired a negative commercial of his own—even after he claimed that it had been withdrawn. But Hart's decline was also due to the housewifery of his support. The Yuppies prefer Hart but they are not as deeply committed to him as Mondale's core constituents—labor and senior citizens—are to their candidate.

Campaign volunteers believe the fault is not in the candidate but in the system. "I am not a political expert," said one envelope stuffer at Hart's Washington, D.C., campaign headquarters last week. "But things are just happening too fast. For a long time in Illinois we had just one state conference. Then, in a matter of days, we had 10." At that pace, organizational mistakes are inevitable.

Another problem is communicating Hart's message to the voters. His campaign has relied principally on TV ads, local interview shows and the evening news. None of them, officials concede, adequately presents a detailed discussion of the issues. Hart's staff has developed comprehensive position papers on a wide range of topics, but most voters know almost nothing about them.

When the voters do get to know Hart, Yuppies insist, they will find him appealing. Saul Stein, Princeton political consultant, Drexel University, says Hart is the first candidate I have seen who has a sense of how to use government to support the development of a self-governing society. We cannot continue to respond to problems by returning them one at a time. Hart is the only one who seems to have thought about that."

Yuppies concede that, after Illinois, (losses of an attempted Hart upset to the nomination have faded. Hart, too, has retreated from earlier professions of lacking up the nomination before the July convention. Last week, campaigning for upcoming primaries in New York and Connecticut, he called the new "insurrection" that would likely stretch out through July.

Mondale's remarkable recovery and Hart's loss of momentum make the April 3 New York primary—with 300 convention delegates at stake—still far from a foregone conclusion. Mondale has endorsements from Gov. Mario Cuomo, New York City Mayor Ed Koch and Senator Daniel Moynihan. But his focus financial problems, having overstepped in earlier terms. Hart, as he has elsewhere, is running against the party's establishment, using an estimated \$50,000 in TV time.

Both candidates are pitching strongly to New York's Jewish vote—one-third of the Democratic electorate. In the manner of former Conservative leader Joe Clark, Hart last week vowed to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv, where the majority of foreign missions are based, to Jerusalem, Israel's capital. Ironically, Hart has suggested that such a shift should be part of a negotiated settlement in the area. Mondale staffers were quick to indict Hart for another flip-flop, but Hart insisted, "The commitment to move the embassy has always been there."

Whatever Hart's appeal to Jewish voters, he will find New York a difficult challenge. There are more registered Democrats, more union members, more ethnic groups and more ethnic groups—another Mondale stronghold—than in any other state in the union. Hart has wooed and won the Yuppies, but there may not be enough of them to make a difference.

—MICHAEL PERKINS in Washington

# Reagan's friend on the line

While Mondale it's the road to the post of attorney general, the highest legal office in the United States, is proving bumpy, these days in Washington. Certainly, few doubted that he would ultimately get the job. But last week, as the justice department waded into probe of Mondale's unclouded finances, the tide of opinion shifted decisively. Unless the department claims Mondale of wrongdoing, he may lose not only his coveted appointment but his White House job as counsel to the president as well.

reinstatement. Thomas's wife, Gretchen, also received a federal appointment. In total, six people who provided financial assistance to the Mondale family later wound up on the federal payroll. Rostock's chairman was another Mondale friend, Earl Rasmussen, a cabinet officer during Reagan's term as governor of California. In 1981, shortly after Reagan became president, the company received a special exemption from the Small Business Administration (SBA), enabling it to receive some \$5 million in financing, backed by federal guarantees. The SBA



Mondale during his Senate hearings, overwhelmed finances

Defending his longtime aide, President Ronald Reagan said last week that he would not agree to let Mondale withdraw, and he rejected any suggestions of impropriety. Moreover, Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, an ardent reader of affidavits, predicts that Mondale will eventually obtain senatorial approval. But in even a few days even he predicts on the Senate Judiciary committee have voiced serious reservations about the Mondale appointment, suggesting that the nominee has not been scrupulous in observing either the letter or the spirit of U.S. statutes.

By his own admission Mondale neglected to include in his financial disclosure forms details of a 1981 \$15,000 interest-free loan to his wife, Ursula, which she used to buy stock in British Capital Corp., a venture capital firm. Mondale borrowed the funds from one of his former aides, Edwin Thomas, who was later named to a high-paying federal post in the General Services Ad-

ministrative Service. Mondale's disclosure forms also revealed that he had received a \$10,000 loan from a friend, a former aide of President Jimmy Carter's.

But the darkest cloud over Mondale's nomination involves his mill-every role in "Debaguette"—the 1980 theft of documents from former president Jimmy Carter's residence complex. Mondale has said repeatedly that he had no knowledge of efforts to abduct Carter's briefing papers and that he could not recall seeing covering money addressed to him that contained such sensitive material. But many now believe he had knowledge of the theft. That an alleged justice department probe is expected to prod the many forgetful participants in the drama—Mondale, CIA Director William Casey and White House Chief of Staff James Baker among them—into revealing what Mondale withheld what to whom. That an alleged scandal could undo Mondale and impede Reagan's re-election efforts.

—MICHAEL PERKINS in Washington



U.S. Air Force crew boarding AWACS plane, solving two shifts with the same body

SEIDAN

## The mysterious bomber affair

The first reports from Khartoum sounded an unmistakable alarm last week. Sudanese President Gaafar Nimeiri charged that a Libyan air force Tupolev-95 had tried to bomb his country's main radio transmitter in Omdurman, one of the capital's satellite cities, naming its target but killing five civilian Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, whose country shares borders with both countries, promptly put his 300,000-man army on alert in response to the 1967 national defense pact with the Soviet Union. Washington sent two air-borne warning and control systems (AWACS) surveillance planes to an Egyptian air base not far from the Sudanese border. But as the days passed, there was growing suspicion of Nimeiri's version of the events.

Observed from both outside and inside the Sudan specified that Nimeiri launched the raid himself, against his own people. His apparent motive to provoke the reluctant Egyptian and U.S. governments into increasing their military support, which he greatly needs to defeat southern Christian and spirit-worshipping Anasani rebels. Indeed, quarrel by the Libyan- and Egyptian-backed insurgents in the south over recent weeks have stopped the Sudan's two largest development projects. They also threaten Africa's largest country with full-scale civil war.

Rebel leader Joseph Ochoy of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, vi-

iting London, was the first to charge that the bomber was Sudanese, not Libyan. And a report by *The Times* of London quickly supported that claim with testimony by British analysts and reliable Sudanese sources who do not oppose Nimeiri. According to those sources, the raid's target was not the Omdurman transmitter but the adjacent house of influential opposition leader Ismail al-Mahdi, chief of the moderate Muslim Ansar sect. Al-Mahdi has been in jail since last September, when he criticized Nimeiri for amputating "thieves' hands after the president had imposed Sharia, the severe Islamic legal code, on the country.

The air strike reportedly occurred only hours after Nimeiri had stalled out of a stormy prison interview with al-Mahdi, who had refused the president's offer of release unless all other political prisoners were liberated with him. Still, other analysts accuse Nimeiri of scheming one week with the same bomb. He had warned opponents against further coup attempts (he has survived at least five in his 16 years in power) and he also won the military backup both Chro-

and Washington had refused except in the event of external aggression.

When Sudanese Vice-President Omar Mohamed Tayib returned from an official visit to Washington three weeks ago and announced a U.S. airlift of arms, the Postage swiftly responded that he had been "persecuted." But Congress authorized an arm shipment with less delay of the disgraced air raid.

Whether or not suspicions of Nimeiri's motives are confirmed, the incident effectively focuses recent Egyptian attempts to inch toward re-establishing relations with Libya—a development that has unsettled Nimeiri. Over the past year Mubarak has met four times with special Libyan envoy Ahmed Kaddafy el-Adham, a cousin of strongman Col. Muammar Kaddafy. At the same time, Mubarak has been assertive about too close an association with Nimeiri's efforts to make the Sudan an official Islamic state and appease the fanatics of the Muslim Brotherhood in case that move should fuel Egypt's own smoldering fundamentalist embers.

In the past month the Sudanese rebels have requested important prizes in their quest for autonomy. In early February an insurgent attack stopped work on a \$20-million exploration project sponsored by the U.S.-based Chevron Oil Co. designed to ship oil through a 1,500-km pipeline to the Red Sea. Three foreign workers were killed and seven others were injured. A week later the rebels raided the camp of a French-owned construction consortium, taking seven hostages, four of whom are still missing. That assault effectively suspended work on the 260-km Jonglei Canal, which the southern forces oppose because it would supply water to the north and to Egypt.

Indeed, the rebels have consistently extorted the Sudan's demoralized and undermanned army, which Nimeiri has deliberately kept weak after officers attempted a coup last fall. But even in his Muslim stronghold in the north, frustration with his regime is growing. The day after the controversial bombing raid, police had to intervene anti-Nimeiri demonstrations in Khartoum—the second such protest in a month. Indeed, the best indicator of the president's shaky hold may be the fact that when the government called for a national show of support last week, only 500 citizens turned up.

MARY McDONALD is in Paris, with Carol Berger in Amsterdam.

Nimeiri's suspicious motives



NAMIBIA

## The hurdles to independence

For a brief moment last week the intractable 56-year-old issue of Namibian independence appeared near resolution. After a three-day meeting in Harare, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and Cuban President Fidel Castro issued a joint communique that called for withdrawal of all 25,000 Cuban troops from Angola. The announcement addressed a long-standing U.S. and South African demand that linked a Cuban pullout with a settlement of the Namibian question. Western diplomats in Pretoria and U.S. state department officials in Washington greeted the communique with cautious optimism.

But in an unexpected move that damaged Western officials, South African Foreign Minister Riekse (Pik) Botha angrily condemned the wording of the communique as "unacceptable." Botha's objection focused on an obscure rhetorical clause that had little to do with the main thrust of the communique. In fact, Botha ignored significant conditions that Castro and dos Santos had attached to the withdrawal offer, including adherence to United Nations Resolution 435. That article, which South Africa has previously accepted, calls for the demilitarization of the region, deployment of a UN monitoring force and the holding of free elections for a constituent assembly.

Botha said that would craft an independence constitution. Some political analysts in South Africa described the conditions as "unrealistic." But others concluded that Botha's objection appeared to be the latest in a long series of delaying tactics that have blocked the independence process. They claimed to dissent growing evidence that Pretoria now intends to shape its own version of Namibian self-government. Western diplomat of the Johannesburg-based Institute for International Affairs. "We are picking up lots of signals that South Africa is looking for a new formula that will en-

clude the United Nations from the independence process."

That theory aimed support last week when South Africa's administration began to work toward peace plans for Namibian independence. The Security Council adopted the group's suggestions in Resolution 435 in 1980, and Pretoria declared last year that it had no objection to the process except for the Cuban presence in Angola.

As a result, last week's communique should have been a historic breakthrough. Angola had insisted that it needed the massive Cuban presence to fend off attacks by a South African air-landed rebel movement known as UNITA. As part of the peace agreement, South Africa agreed to halt support for the rebels. But dos Santos is still clinging to a protracted military force without Pretoria's backing, the rebels enjoy widespread support from disaffected tribes in southern Angola. Some experts believe that dos Santos's isolated government will have no other choice but to agree to Pretoria's own blueprint for Namibia.

The entrance is also debate for the Reagan administration. In recent months Washington has largely ignored the views of its fellow contact group members in South Africa's hard-line stance, preferring its own policy of "constructive engagement." The entrance is also debate for the Reagan administration. In recent months Washington has largely ignored the views of its fellow contact group members in South Africa's hard-line stance, preferring its own policy of "constructive engagement."

signing a ceasefire agreement with Angola in February opened the possibility of a direct deal on Namibia between governments in southern Africa. The prospect has alarmed Western officials. Said one key U.S. diplomat in Pretoria: "If South Africa starts monkeying around with Resolution 435, there will be an end of trouble."

Although South Africa confers to administer Namibia, the territory is under legal responsibility of the UN. During the First World War, South Africa seized Namibia, then a German colony known as South West Africa, and con-

tinued to do so after 1920 under a mandate from the League of Nations. After the Second World War, black African nationalists petitioned the UN to block Pretoria's plan to incorporate the region. Backed by the UN Security Council, the so-called Western contact group nations—Canada, the United States, Britain, France and West Germany—began to work toward peace plans for Namibian independence. The Security Council adopted the group's suggestions in Resolution 435 in 1980, and Pretoria declared last year that it had no objection to the process except for the Cuban presence in Angola.

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—ALISTAIR SPAIN in Johannesburg

Cuban troops in Angola, frustrating disputes over an offer to withdraw

relations between Washington and Pretoria during the Namibian negotiations. As a result, any South African attempt to impose its own Namibian solution would severely embarrass the White House. After South Africa's stance, U.S. diplomats in South Africa were left hoping that the same would pass so that negotiations could begin for a withdrawal. If it does not, Washington will be faced with an awkward choice: to apply tough pressure on Pretoria or to admit that its direct approach has been a failure.

—ALISTAIR SPAIN in Johannesburg



FitzGerald with Ronald Reagan during recent Washington visit; elusive search

## IRELAND

### A new bid to end the strife

When Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald set up a 48-member panel last year to develop a blueprint for reunifying Ireland, few observers gave the study much chance of success. Solutions to the difficulties of joining Northern Ireland with the republic have eluded politicians for 45 years. But in the New Ireland Forum prepares to report next week, it has earned grander interest—from London, which has been following the process without participating in it, from Dublin's three major political parties and from Northern Ireland's Catholic-influenced Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). Despite substantial opposition from Protestant Unionists, FitzGerald described the attempt to make peaceful political decisions about Ireland's future as "almost unique in a democratic country."

To FitzGerald, whose idealistic approach to politics has earned him the nickname "Gaelic the Gael," the forum has served as the first serious attempt to address the realities of Irish nationalism. But the impetus for the study came mainly from SDLP leader John Hume, who stressed that there could be no agreement between Catholics and Protestants without concrete economic, social and constitutional proposals. He closed home last week "We have talked about Irish unity but we have never spelled out what we mean by it." Although the forum has attracted widespread interest, Protestant organizations in Northern Ireland have remained adamant in their opposition. In-

deed, Rev. Ian Paisley, the leader of the Protestant extremist, Democratic Unionist party, has dismissed the forum as "interference by a foreign state in Northern Ireland's affairs."

Still, the study's proponents have argued that determining political conditions provide necessary parties with no other choice. After 14½ years of negotiation, there seems to be no end in sight to fighting that has often spilled over from Northern Ireland to Britain. Recently, the violence has sparked new tensions in Dublin. Members of the Irish

McCloskey, now adding violence



Republican Army have freely used the north as a hideout, holed-up and sometimes killing Irish security forces. The FitzGerald government has been forced to strike back, launching massive raids on its. Protestants for several members of the IRA. In the latest incident, police captured Irish National Liberation Army gunman Dominic (Mad Dog) McGuinness after a spectacular gun battle near Shannon on St. Patrick's Day. He now faces a murder charge in the north. Still one forum participant: "There is a new awareness in Dublin that Northern Ireland is no longer just a problem for northern nationalists. It is now a southern problem."

Adding to the urgency of the forum's quest is growing disenchantment among northern Catholics with democratic parties, including the most prominent force, the SDLP. Hume says his supporters fear that the IRA's political wing, Sinn Féin, seeks to replace the SDLP as the Catholic community's principal voice, further polarizing an already dangerous political environment. In last June's British general election, Sinn Féin won its first parliamentary seat in nearly 30 years.

The panel's daunting task has been to create a formula that appeals to both Catholics and Protestants—in both jurisdictions. But Hume claims that Britain holds the key to reunification. He believes that a moderate report endorsing Protestant rights and preserving the northern Unionists' British culture could encourage London to co-operate with Dublin's overtures. Added side forum member: "If Britain can be brought around to accept that to do nothing is worse than to do something, then movement is possible."

Meanwhile, as the panel prepares to make its final recommendations, the participants maintain widely differing visions that could still make agreement impossible. FitzGerald's Fine Gael party, its Labour colleagues in the ruling coalition and a majority of the state favor a federal arrangement between North and South or, at least, a Northern Ireland jointly ruled by London and Dublin. But spokesmen for the opposition Proton, Fianna Fail party have dismissed the proposals as a "bag of Dolly Mixture," a popular brand of mixed candy. Fianna Fail leader Charles Haughey argued that a diluted version of Irish sovereignty will only lead more Catholics support to Sinn Féin and the IRA. At the moment, Haughey is prepared to accept limited sovereignty for the north—the sort that Scotland now enjoys. Still, no party leader is willing to appear as the man who wrecked the New Ireland Forum. A failure to forge a consensus now could set back the elusive search for reunification by decades.

—THEODORE KORNMAN in Dublin

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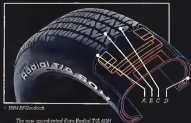
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## PEOPLE



Melvin Stewart, Trudeau, Rae Green Chang, then the breakfast presentation award

And the winner was... The *Terraviva* *For Story*, which ran off with five awards, including best picture, at the Canadian Film Institute's 5th annual Gemini Awards ceremony last week. The movie, which celebrated the one-legged runner's 1986 Marathon of Hope, also won for best actor (Eric Ayer, who had never acted before and, like Fox, lost a leg to cancer) and best supporting actor (Michael Zaturka). However, the best picture did not win director Ralph Thomas; the best director award Neither Thomas nor Susan Shapiro and Gilles Caron, whose *The Wars* and Maria Chapdelaine were in the best picture category, were even nominated. The award went jointly to *Black Class* for *A Christmas Story* and *Daniel Greenberg* for *Vidocrome*. Snapped best actress Marthe Henry (*The Wars*) of Phillips' exclusive "Reducteur."

Added Julie Burroughs, who won best supporting actress (*The Wars*) "I feel strongly about it." Fryer on Thomas "I would not have been here without him." Shockmeister Greenberg ("His voting system is perfect") took it philosophically although he won for best director. Videodrome had not been nominated for best picture. The academy could have made two other awards: breakout presentation of an awards show and named winner in *Genre History*. The latter prize went to Louis Del Grande, star of TV's *Scoring Things*, who kicked best picture presenter Prince Maxime Pierre Trudeau.

"Like everyone else in this room, he'll soon be out of work." The breakout award would have gone to the CBC, whose talented at the 5th Gemini lasted exactly one hour and 51 minutes, thus finishing in time for *The National*. In Canada, entrance must never cut into the bread.

Media consultant Ottawa Steles is not the first expert to explore the evident connection between theatre and politics—and the Liberal leadership race has provided him with a new array of specimens. Steles, a consultant for Ottawa-based Melior-Wheatley Associates Ltd., is part of the breed of generalists who groom politicians for elections: vote-grabbing, teaching them the rewards of the "30-second clip" and "how to handle a Barbara Fourné." On that basis, consultant Pat Adams, president of TV-Gem Communications Ltd. in Toronto, predicts that John Turner will be the "hands down" winner of the Liberal leadership race, despite his "sturdy eyes" and "distrusting habit of playing with his tongue." The other contenders, said Adams, lack Turner's "movie star quality," although former Trudeau aide James Cunniff "would make a good court jester." But Hugh Segal, vice-president of Camp Associates Advertising Ltd., founded by TV-cum-maker Gordon Gerny, thinks Energy Minister Jean Charest would be Brian Mulroney's most formidable opponent in a general election. Segal concluded that Decade Jonathan is a



MacGillivray: 'Too academic'

"How many would trust to prepare your tax returns?" but "unimpaired," and Justice Minister Mark MacGillivray is "too academic." Said Segal: "The Liberals have to worry about contrivance. The Tories usually let it all hang out and pay the price. If they were bright, Charest would [win]. But in my view they are not bright. That is why they are Liberals."

Priscilla Barnes hates playing musical shoes—especially when they are ones removed. Her troubles began when the agent on to replace Jacques Harmon as the third member of the funniest threesome in *Therapy's* Company, with John Huser and Joyce DeWitt, two years ago. Trouble was, Harmon had already replaced the original token blonde, Suzanne Browne, whose producer Mickey Rosa, stated in 1981, because she wanted a 600-per-cent raise, to \$150,000 (U.S.) a week, plus a percentage of the profits. Barnes sought online comparisons with Sonora. Finally, last December, ABC executives decided to drop both Barnes and DeWitt and let Huser try to carry the show alone next season. Barnes now making her stage debut in Calgary last week is a high school cheerleader-turned-workaholic cynic in Jack Reacher's *Nation* lauded. "It was very difficult, John wanted to do his own show. They told us they had run out of ideas for us." Although Barnes once looked forward to the challenge of "playing against type" in replacing Sonora, she now never to play the stand-in game again. "You are not judged on your own criteria," she said. ☐

Barnes: Actor playing musical shoes



# The fear of interest rates

By Ian Austen

The criticism was not likely to win many converts from the Canadian work force in its cause. Last Thursday—just hours before the Bank of Canada moved its trend-setting interest rate up for the second week in a row—the bank's governor, Gerald Bouey, charged that workers were partly to blame for Canada's rising money costs. His reason: they are receiving wage increases larger than those given to their U.S. counterparts. Not only was organized labor quick to denounce the central bank governor's claim as untrue and unfounded, but many labor spokesmen took pleasure in pointing out Bouey's personal contribution to the trend. His \$100,000-a-year salary is 20 per cent higher than that of Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker. Bouey's equivalent north of the border.

But while it was not an entirely pleasant week for Bouey, the rise of the central bank's rate to 20.75 per cent from 19.50 per cent brought little cheer to Canada as a whole. The recent optimism about the economy turned to a general pessimism as borrowers sought more money, leading banks down the previous week's lead of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce by pushing their prime lending rate (the one they charge on loans to their biggest and best customers) up to 11.5 per cent, an increase of 0.5 per cent. And although it still remains unclear where interest rates are headed, last week's financial action was widely seen as a harbinger of a definitive end to the period of stable interest rates which Canadians have enjoyed since last fall.

Finance Minister Marc Lalonde offered little hope. He said that pressure on the U.S. money markets created by borrowing to finance Washington's massive \$200-billion deficit means continued U.S. interest rate increases. Canada, in turn, will have to watch the rate hike—or watch the ailing Canadian dollar drop even further. Said Lalonde: "We must keep rates competitive if we want to keep money and investment in Canada." (If funds begin to flood out of

Canada, the Canadian dollar's value would suffer a further decline.) But New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent was quick to reject Lalonde's arguments. Lower interest rates and a less valuable dollar, Broadbent de-

clared, would be a tonic for the nation's sluggish economy. But while it seems likely that Lalonde will continue to reject Broadbent's advice and continue to defend the Canadian dollar through rate hikes, many experts believe it is unlikely that the country will see a reversal in the 36-per-cent levels of three years ago. The reason, said James Webber, an economist at the Toronto Dominion Bank, is simply that "The economy isn't strong

enough." Because inflation in Canada and the United States is not at worrisome levels, Webber predicts only one or two more rate increases in the coming months and that the U.S. prime rate ultimately will settle in the 12- to 12.5-per-cent range. Nevertheless, the hikes of the past weeks are already making their mark on housing markets. Michael Goldberg, the associate dean of commerce at the University of British Columbia, said that the country's high level of unemployment has made housing markets even more sensitive to any interest rate changes. If rates continue to rise, Goldberg believes that increasingly more people—especially those in lower-income brackets—will remain as become renters.

Indeed, over the past two weeks the same mortgage lenders have noticed a shift in the type of loans their customers are seeking. J. Michael Brind, Toronto Dominion's assistant general manager-mortgages, said that more and more are home buyers are turning away from relatively low-cost one-year mortgages (which he was offering last week at 11% per year) for more costly 10% and 15% per year loans. The reason they apparently are willing to pay a premium for the assurance that their housing payments will remain stable for the rest of the decade, Brind said, no one should underestimate the nervousness of the market. "There are a lot of people out there who are paying high rates and who have done a lot of suffering. There are also a lot of people who are thinking their lucky stars they were not in the same boat—but they may be entering it now."

Of course, home buyers are not the only ones who worry about increases in borrowing costs. Because many corporations fund their operations through loans made at the rising prime rate, last week's hike gave rise to fears that the shaky economic recovery would be cut off. With that a real possibility, both Lalonde and Bouey are no doubt aware that the status in the interest game will become increasingly important in the coming weeks. ☐



Bouey's definitive end to the period of stable rates.



Tortilla-making in Guadalajara: 'Systemic failure' is looming in Latin America

## The impact of big debts

Whenever U.S. Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker and his colleagues gather for meetings of the board's highly secretive Open Market Committee, many special interest groups anxiously await indications of where they plan to steer U.S. monetary policy. But few are as eager as the heads of banks and nations attempting to cope with the Third World debt crisis. Indeed, last week when the Fed apparently foisted a new outbreak of inflation-tightened credit by raising the 10-per-cent U.S. prime rate by a fractional half a percentage point, the developing nations had cause for deep concern. While relatively small, the increase may add hundreds of millions of dollars to their interest costs. What is more, steeper rates in U.S. interest levels could quickly reshape the elaborate network of economic rescue plans launched since late 1982 for a host of debtor nations, particularly in Latin America.

Already, the economic austerity programs adopted in exchange for further loans from the International Monetary Fund and commercial banks are generating political backlashes in Mexico and Brazil. Together, the two large debtors owe more than \$300 billion (U.S.) in foreign credits, including banks in Canada. Newly elected demo-

cratic governments in Venezuela (foreign debt about \$20 billion) and Argentina (roughly \$45 billion) are each billions of dollars behind on their loan repayments. And neither nation is willing to undergo the sacrifices that their programs have forced on their neighbors. In a powerful syndicate published this month by the New York investment bank Morgan Stanley and Co., financial adviser George Soros warns that a "systemic failure" looms. Argentina may be the defender. The country's unpaid debt has now climbed to about \$3 billion, making it difficult to reach any agreement with its creditors—chiefly U.S. and Canadian banks. By month's end, that scenario would be especially troublesome for the United States because U.S. banks would then be forced by law to disclose the loans "nonperforming"—that is, the banks must write down the loans's value and add funds to cover it in case of default. Still, Argentine President Menem is practicing to produce a "letter of intent," which he claims the IMF will approve, by the March 31 deadline.

But if the efforts prove unavailing, the grip of failure could be severe for Argentina's major lenders, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. and Citicorp, both of New York. A failure could re-

duce their earnings substantially and force the banks to set aside large sums of money to cover a potential Argentine default.

Oddly enough, the lively tortilla has become a symbol of resentment for the foreign bankers' demands in Mexico. Although Mexico is the fourth-largest oil producer in the world, its money earnings are being devoted solely to paying interest on its foreign debt of as much as \$60 billion. In turn, Mexicans have been left with a stringent ill-designed austerity program, chiefly in the form of cuts in wages and government spending. First it was the banks, the tortilla vendors, the *corraleros*. Despite the current bread's flat and rather sad-looking shape, it is a Mexican dietary staple—some 300 millions are consumed each day. In a bid to keep prices down for the mainly poor tortilla consumers, the Mexican government pays \$14 billion (U.S.) a subsidy to the *corraleros* each year. But this month the producers struck. Arguing that Mexico's current annual inflation rate of 30 per cent had all but wiped out their profit, they demanded heavy increases in their subsidies, and most producers shut down or drastically slowed their operations.

The Mexican government has kept a wary eye on the 1970's austerity measures and repeated the producers' demands. When the producers responded angrily, the government threatened to end the subsidy program and hoped that it might thereby force the producers over to their employers. But last week the angry reaction of consumers finally forced the producers to back down. While they are now back in production, the government will likely find it difficult to pressure them to reduce demands or to increase the *corraleros'* profits by allowing them to raise their prices. Said Paul Volcker, the octogenarian leader of the Mexican Western Credit Institute: "As long as the price would be a drastic blow for the workers' economy, which is already on the verge of collapse."

Mexico is not alone in feelings of resentment. Inflation, forcing the banking community in Latin America, is a last-ditch weapon, which hard-hearted nations, is likely to demand that its foreign lenders lower their interest charges and stretch out payment schedules. The terms have become divisive issues in the IMF's loan-laden equities, which hard-hearted nations, is likely to demand that its foreign lenders lower their interest charges and stretch out payment schedules. The terms have become divisive issues in the IMF's loan-laden equities, which hard-hearted nations, is likely to demand that its foreign lenders lower their interest charges and stretch out payment schedules. The terms have become divisive issues in the IMF's loan-laden equities, which hard-hearted nations, is likely to demand that its foreign lenders lower their interest charges and stretch out payment schedules.

—LEONIE GLASS in New York, with Peter Chapman in Mexico City



Canadian Fairview shopping mall in Atlanta. Developers have closed interest rates to a new victory

## Developers: the cost of survival

By James Fleming

The deals appeared to promise a period of vitality for Canada's largest real estate developer. First, in early March, cash-rich Trizec Corp. of Calgary, the second-largest real estate developer in the country, with \$1 billion in assets, announced that it had agreed to buy control of Roseville Ltd., a Toronto-based developer, for \$60 million in cash and a \$30-million loan. Then, last week, privately owned Olympia & York Developments (O&Y) of Toronto, which ranks first in the industry with \$93 billion in assets, created a new wing. Finally, O&Y analysts when it arranged a \$1-billion (U.S.) mortgage—the largest in North American history—for three of its buildings in Manhattan. These events marked a renewed vigor among the real estate giants after the setbacks of the recent recession. But the future of the companies and that of the industry they were thrown upon, even uncertainty last week by rising interest rates. Warned Michael Allen, an analyst with Toronto-based Dividend Partners Ltd. "A major rise in interest rates will hurt the whole industry."

Analysts agreed that the jump in the major banks' prime lending rate last week by half a point to 11.5 per cent will not seriously affect the fortunes of the development firms. However, if the lending rate rises by a full two percentage points or more by

year's end, as some experts predict, the damage could be significant. At that level the cost of money could force otherwise financially sound companies to rein in their future growth plans. At the same time, several firms that have not recovered from the devastating effects of the recession would find their ongoing fights against bankruptcy increasingly difficult to wage as demands for housing dried up and financing costs soared. Currently, the only consolation for such struggling firms as Vancouver's Danc Development Corp. and Calgary's No-West Group Ltd. is that interest rates are not expected to rise to the astronomical 20-per-cent-plus levels of the recession.

Kotler (left), Mikawsky, now, robust growth in order may



The possibility of renewed handshakes from escalating interest rates comes at a time when many real estate firms have not recovered from that recession. The downturn was a miserable experience for Canadian developers, who had expanded at a dizzying pace across North America in the previous decade. Their growth was fueled by the belief that inflation was on their side and would make even unimproved deals profitable as land prices and rents soared. Firms such as No-West, Danc and Cadillac Fairview of Toronto accumulated residential properties rapidly, buying up housing, apartment units and acres of land. The companies financed some of their moves with floating-rate debts, which rose and fell in tandem with prime lending rates. But when the recession struck, the firms found themselves loaded with properties that spun off little or no profit, and, as interest rates soared, their huge debt loads became unbearable. To survive, many were forced to sell off residential properties as quickly as possible, cut overhead costs drastically and overhaul their management strategies.

Cadillac Fairview was typical of the land-hungry companies. Between 1977 and 1982 it traded its U.S. real estate assets to \$1.3 billion from \$100 million and bought its Canadian assets to \$1.6 billion from \$1 billion. Cadillac president, Bernard Gilbert, now believes the company was out of control during that period. Said Gilbert, "Management was not concentrating on the things it could do well. We were into housing, condos and apartments—buying land in a big, order-shaker fashion and financing it with short-term debt." Company chairman Leo Kotler is more blunt. "Our problems," he told *Maclean's*, "were caused by an abiding faith in inflation and growth. It was in 1981 when Cadillac found itself saddled with \$1.6 billion in floating-rate debts at a time when interest rates were rapidly escalating. The company took drastic action to turn its fortunes around. Most importantly, it put more than half of its \$1 billion in assets up for sale in an attempt to get out of the residential market completely and concentrate on shopping centres, office buildings and other income-producing properties. To date, it has sold \$1.9 billion worth of assets. Now, with its profits and cash flow restored, Cadillac has \$1.9 billion worth of projects either just completed, under way or in the planning stage.

Company Corp. of Ottawa also expanded aggressively in the housing market. But it, too, managed to restore its health by selling off residential assets. Last year it put about \$300 million worth of assets up for sale and, so far, has managed to dispose of about half of it. In the process Company has managed to reduce its debt load to under \$1 billion from \$1.45 billion in 1982. At the same time, profits have improved, rising to \$15 million for the nine months ending Sept. 30, 1983, from \$3.6 million for the same period in 1982.

Trizec and O&Y survived the recession well because they had limited debt loads and little or no exposure to residential markets. O&Y's private owners, Paul and Albert Reichman, are secretive about the firm's future plans. But Trizec president Harold Mikawsky told an annual meeting this month that the company's healthy earnings and cash flow will enable it to undertake an active aggressive plan. Still, extended high interest rates could sour the growth of the developers as long-term financing becomes more costly and difficult to obtain.

But for several companies still reeling in debt and heavily involved in residential markets, the impact would be more immediate since they are already in fragile condition. Danc is still trying to win approval from its lenders for a refinancing plan for a more than \$1-billion debt load. At the same time, Calgary's No-West Group will seek shareholder approval in June for a plan that would restructure its debt of more than \$1 billion.

Harvey Ransaul, an analyst with Merrill Lynch in Toronto, says these restructurings plans will not be jeopardized while they are under consideration. But he cautions the firms are involved in residential real estate, and Ransaul, "they will be hit by a double whammy." For one thing, he explained, "if house buyers have interest rates as low as they, they will look off, and the firms will have a difficulty selling their product." For another, he said, residential developers tend to carry more floating-rate debt than companies involved in commercial properties because it is very difficult to raise fixed-rate loans on land, which is a volatile commodity. As a result, increases in financing costs would soon make rises in interest rates. Said Ransaul, "If interest rates rise by more than two per cent, the residential market will be stopped dead in its tracks." For such firms as Danc and No-West, that would create serious problems, even if their refinancing plans are approved. Declared Ransaul, "I do not think it is a question of survival for them, but they will have to work very hard in the next few years just to stay afloat."

With Dallas Stewart in Calgary

## The Community faces a crisis

It is the case of a vote by one stalwart board member threatening to swing the whole corporate structure tumbling down. That is the prospect that looms over the 39-nation European Community as its foreign and agriculture ministers meet in emergency sessions in Brussels this week. There are so many dramatic developments caused by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's insistence on with-



Thatcher: the odd woman out

holding her nation's contribution to the alliance. On the one of their meeting, with Europe's political leaders and press still bitterly blaming Thatcher for the eleven-hour collapse of last week's summit, the Community's future hangs on an increasingly fragile thread. Already headed toward bankruptcy by the summer because of the summit's failure to agree on an overall budget reform, the EC now also faces the prospect of political disintegration. Said French President François Mitterrand, "Europe is not dead, but it has been seriously wounded."

The community's future, like the summit itself, hinges on the British position of a veto for the EC. If the foreign ministers this week fail to release the \$500-million British rebate for 1983—frozen in retaliation for Britain's refusal to accept a lesser amount offered by the cash-starved EC—Thatcher has warned that she will withhold next year's badly needed payments. That decision could in turn force community officials to take Britain to the European Court of Justice for defying the EC's Finance Treaty of 1972.

Both a cycle of revenge could only darken the storm clouds that new hangover on the English Channel. Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu said that it would be a "red" if Britain withdrew from the community. And Mitterrand has proposed a change in EC rules that would effectively push Britain to the fringes of European decision-making. Last week the French cabinet agreed to its plan for agreement on majority vote in the Council. The current procedure calls for unanimity, so the rule change would alleviate the risk of a British veto paralyzing a three consecutive summit scheduled for June. Last week's summit breakdown was all the more costly because it came after heated debate that brought the 10 leaders agonizingly close to agreement. Thatcher made an important concession by offering to increase the community's market of revenue raised by Britain's sales tax contribution from its 1.4 per cent in 1985. The leaders also came close to agreeing on a strict cap on agricultural spending, which is already \$600 million over budget for 1983. But the British vetoed the agreement. The emerging Ireland from a drastically reduced quota on milk production and Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald will not. From there, the meeting broke to a vote to finally agree to a new, relatively insignificant amount of cash—\$200 million. That was the amount that equated an EC convergence rebate after from the British deficit.

Warning Britain that it could opt stay inside and outside the community at the same time, Mitterrand last week called for a conference of the community's six founding members, which does not include Britain, to discuss its future. That puts pressure on Thatcher, who also risks deepening a rift that could offset key alliance defense considerations. Still, as Europe's odd woman out, Thatcher currently seems impervious to the maelstrom being set off by her commercial colleagues.

MARY McDONALD in Paris

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## **A new life for the Oil Patch**

**I**n the bush and moose of the Peace River Arch in north-central Alberta, the employees of Boxy Petroleum Ltd. of Calgary watched as the heavy drilling rig cut into the frozen ground. It was the company's fifth attempt to find oil in the area. Four previous holes, at a cost of \$150,000 each, had come up dry. But when the Mack crane finally broke to the surface, the reaction of the oilmen seemed strangely calm in view of Alberta's recent reputation outside its borders as a province whose natural resources had all but run out. In fact, Alberta is enjoying a new oil boom, and oil discoveries in the Peace River Arch area are becoming almost a matter of routine.

In addition to its latest find, Boxy—running an exploration program for a consortium of seven companies—now has five producing wells at Swan Lake, 25½ km northwest of Edmonton. Meanwhile, Amoco Canada Petroleum Co. Ltd. of Calgary has three wells in production at Seven, 30 km away. Another group, led by Dence Petroleum Ltd. of Calgary, has six wells in production at nearby Gift. Throughout the province the recent finds are generating the kind of excitement not seen since the 500-million-barrel West Pembina discovery in 1977.

The new activity is especially welcome in an industry that has become increasingly concerned that oil investors would soon write Alberta off. Although the Canadian Petroleum Association estimates that Alberta's remaining producible conventional oil reserves are 4.8 billion barrels, oil exploration in the province has been stagnating, and capital has been going elsewhere over the past three years. Undoubtedly, part of the reason was due to the prevailing belief that, except for isolated pockets, there were no more big fields to be discovered in the province. As well, oil-warmed companies are focusing on the more glamorous frontier areas of Hibernia and the Beaufort Sea, where the federal government heavily subsidizes the search for major fields.

In light of the new finds, investors are now concentrating on Alberta. Although the participants are reluctant to discuss the actual amount of oil involved, there are estimates that the initial size of the discoveries lies between 20 million and 40 million barrels. Currently, the Gift wells are producing 160 barrels a day, and Seven, 750. In addition, the Swan Lake site was supplying 650 barrels a day until the Alberta Energy Resources Conservation Board cut the rate back to 312 barrels. The reward for individual companies is expected to be considerable. Bill

Watson, vice-president of exploration at Narmac Oil & Gas Ltd. of Edmonton—while it has a stake in both Gift and Swan Lake—estimates that Narmac will earn \$20 before taxes from each new barrel of oil produced.

Despite finds in the 1950s and early 1960s, much of the Peace River area has never seen drilling rigs. That, in part, is because the geology of the area is considered tricky, making it hard to predict where oil pockets may be. While improved exploration equipment and techniques have reduced the element of chance, looking for leads in the area is still a bit of a gamble. Said George Pinsky, Boxy's vice-president in charge of exploration: "You sort of have



**Pinsky:** "There's a prize up there."

to screw up your compass and drill your well." Terrain is also a big stumbling block. Large-scale drilling is most common in northern Alberta, is possible only during winter when marshlands are frozen. The same terrain also creates a distribution problem. The giant tar sands, which carry the oil to market, will be useless after the land thaws. However, the oil companies have recently announced that they will build a pipeline to carry at least 10,000 barrels per day to ease that part of the problem. Meanwhile, exploration is continuing at a rapid pace. Said Pinsky: "We're a wildcatting company. You establish that there's a prize up there and then go after it."

—STEVE MERRILL in Calgary, with Shona McKay in Toronto



# Magic moments for the best skaters

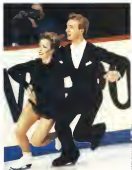
By Steve Milton

The figure skating torch finally passed to Barbara Underhill and Paul Martin last week with the complete approval of those who bore it. The five-time Canadian champions managed one of the sport's greatest comebacks when they recovered from a seventh-place finish at the Sarajevo Winter Olympics to capture the world figure skating pairs championship before a patriotic audience at Ottawa's Civic Centre. Six other Canadians who won world gold medals during the past 66 years of competition were on hand to applaud their achievement.

Later, Canada's Brian Orser, a silver medalist at Sarajevo, finished second behind French world champions and Sarajevo gold medalists Scott Hamilton of the United States in the men's singles. East Germany's graceful Katarina Witt led the ladies' competition from beginning to end. And so did the wonderful dance duo of Jayne Torvill and Christopher Dean, who won all three events and claimed an unprecedented perfect score from all nine judges in two programs.

For Canadians, Martin and Underhill's stunning victory was the highlight of the six-day event. It marked the first time a Canadian skater has won a gold medal in Canada since Barbara Wagner and Bob Paul's triumph in Vancouver in 1960. It was also the first time that the Olympic pair competed for an international prize in Canada. Said Martin: "That made it very nerve-racking for us. It was like we had something to prove to Canadians."

And prove it they did. Martin and Underhill, skating second-last in the group of 18 pairs, lifted the cheering crowd to its feet for the final 30 seconds of the program, where it was clear that the two were going to



skaters was the silver medal, and 1988 world champions Sabine Bana and Tamara Tischerbach of East Germany placed third. Another Canadian pair, Katherine Maizus and Lloyd Stoller, were a strong fifth and showed every sign of replacing Underhill and Martin in the amateur sweepstakes when they turn pro, which may be within a month.

The Canadian drama almost did not take to the ice. Two weeks before their ascent to the top of the skating world, Martin and Underhill were dangerously close to quitting the sport. They missed much of the sailing season because of Underhill's injuries—a shoulder separation in August and a torn ankle ligament in January—and then a disastrous fall in Sarajevo caused them to finish seventh at the February Olympics.

After the skating win, Martin recalled just how close the pair came to quitting the sport for which they had trained for years to master. "We were sitting there with [coach] Leon Stang, and four skates were at Barb's feet," he said. "Nothing was going right, and neither Barb's old boots nor her new ones seemed to work for her." Stang was on the verge of advising the pair not to compete in Ottawa. But before he did, Stang was called away in the telephone. Said Underhill: "While he was on the phone I went out with Paul and tried my old boots again. And we decided to stay in it."

The comfort of the old boots helped Underhill to turn in a dazzling program which included two perfect death spirals, a brilliant throw double and (the move in which Underhill had hurt herself in January) and a gravity-defying overhead lift in which Martin balanced Underhill in the air upside down. Like Torvill and Dean, Canada's glimmer pair are sure to land on their feet when they turn professional. ☐

Torvill's and Dean's (above): Underhill's and Martin's proving something



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# A multinational warning on acid rain

By Pat Oshendurf

In many ways it was not a conference. Then an exercise in international public relations. At last week's acid rain meeting in Ottawa, the environment ministers of Canada and nine European nations—West Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands—pledged to reduce sulphur emissions that industrial and power plants cause in their countries by 30 per cent by 1993 and to adopt tougher standards for sulphur oxide emissions in vehicle exhausts. But the meeting also sent a firm message to polluting nations such as the United States to tighten their acid rain controls.



German traffic jam. Caccia (below): "we must persuade others to join us."

Federal Environment Minister Charles Caccia turned the conference—the highest-level international acid rain gathering to date—"a sort of laboratory to get the wheels moving faster."

Delegates to the two-day conference expressed sympathy with Canadian concerns about the U.S. failure to take action on acid rain because, as in Canada, the east coast and parts of the north fall in the countries of Central Europe originates outside their own borders—primarily in Britain, Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Consequently, according to Sweden's minister responsible for the environment, Svante Lundkvist, the Ottawa meeting was "very beautiful psychologically. If you are successful in your efforts with the United States, it will give support to countries in Europe."

However, the Ottawa resolution was designed to provide more than initial support. The agreement will form the starting-point for a June meeting in Munich, at which roughly 60 countries, including the United States, will discuss transboundary acid rain. The debate will then move on to Geneva in September, where the so-called "30-per-cent club" will urge the 35 signatories to the 1979 United Nations Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution to strengthen the treaty by including international limits on several

emissions of acid rain pollutants.

Some members of the "club" have already set an example and reduced, or pledged to reduce, sulphur emissions by 30 per cent. Earlier this month Canada and seven provincial ministers of the environment (covering east acid rain as well as west) agreed to a 30 per cent reduction in sulphur emissions over the next decade. The United States, represented in Ottawa by U.S. Environmental Protection Agency associate administrator Pinhas Green, who served as an observer, emphasized that more research is needed about the effects of acid rain before the United States begins a control program. Said Green: "The United States will not submit to political pressure."

Still, at week's end Green told *Northern*: "We are delighted that these countries have put themselves on the record as wanting to do it. We are going to watch closely how they do it and how it works." Not all Americans support the government, however, and last week set

northeastern states send the EPA, seeking a decision on their 1981 request to reduce the amount of sulphur emissions from seven other industrial states.

Despite the U.S. reaction in Ottawa, the conference highlighted a growing international sense of urgency over the effects of acid rain. In Europe delegates reported that acid rain is now causing considerable damage to timber, fishery, tourism and agricultural industries, and in restoration work on buildings. Said Germany's minister responsible for the environment, Carl-Dieter Spranger: "We are reaching the point at which it is becoming more expensive to correct the effects of acid rain than to prevent it in the first place."

Delegates who met in Ottawa stressed that the meeting's decision was an expression. Said French Environment Minister Hagette Beauchamp: "This 30-per-cent club is not an exclusive one—we must persuade others to join us." She added that if countries "go it alone" with export and pollution control programs, their industries might come to be competitive with those of other nations that have not made the commitment to clean up.

Delegates hope that in the end the economic arguments against acid rain will be the most persuasive—especially in the United States. Environmentalists estimate that a U.S. air abatement program could cost from \$10 billion to \$80 billion. The handwriting is on the wall for the Americans: Every year and rain damage their economy in excess of \$5 billion, and this amount is predicted to reach \$20 billion by the turn of the century. Some say that one will make itself felt in their political thinking. ☐



Gonzales: accounts of vicious beatings by a guard known as El Diablo (The Devil)

## PRISONS

# A legacy of torture

The testimony mixed dark memories in Spain. There were accounts of vicious beatings by a prison guard known as El Diablo (The Devil) and of the deliberately calculated writhing of sodium in the practice of delivering 1,200 volts to the faces of prisoners. The lurid descriptions of torture came from a total of guards at Spain's maximum-security jail, Barajas de la Mancha, in the province of Ciudad Real, and last week government officials suspended eight guards and the former prison director for two to three years for instigating inmates. Because the offences took place in 1979, the country's Socialist government order Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez could fairly disavow responsibility. But several recent incidents suggest that Spain's security forces may still be practicing the use of torture.

Earlier this month Burgos nationalist Miguel Zafrales charged that local police had subjected him to electrode torture in a 24-hour police station. Spanish Interior Minister José Barrionuevo reacted: "There does not exist any pretensions or tolerance for any practice of this type." But another recent case raised new doubts about the claim. In December Madrid police arrested former police Herman José Manuel Castro, 35, outside a discotheque for assaulting them. He later told the Madrid newspaper *El Sur* that the two officers took him to a police station and handcuffed him to a radiator. Said Castro: "Amador Miral-

peix took a whip from a cupboard. He seemed to enjoy hitting me." Castro was admitted to hospital the next day suffering from a broken jaw and other injuries. Last month he died of pulmonary edema. Charged his sister Maria. "He has been assaulted by legalised terrorism."

The Castro family has taken legal action against the police, and lawyer José María Meléndez, president of Spain's human rights association, wants an official investigation. Communist association secretary María Perea: "Torture is not a general problem, but cases continue to occur, particularly against common delinquents who are afraid to speak up. We feel that the justice ministry does not react sufficiently. They have the means to confront the problem and finish it but they do not."

The reasons for the government's slow action are twofold. High Spanish unemployment and a wage freeze have recently contributed to a crime wave and acute public unrest. The Gonzalez government does not want to appear soft on crime by attacking the police. The government has also been reluctant to acknowledge the 60,000-murder civil guard police force, which was a potent right-wing weapon during the Franco years. But for a Socialist government that has always been outspoken on human rights, that reluctance could prove to be a dangerous political embarrassment.

—DAVID BARRY in Málaga



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Bloomington patrons with a pair of boxer shorts for women (jockey shorts) (Baltus)

## FASHION

# Skivvies for the ladies

New York fashion designer Calvin Klein scandalized much of North America in 1983 with an advertising campaign that featured then-15-year-old Brooke Shields wearing scantily clad jeans that bore his label. Now he is again using savvy marketing to rattle the discreet foundations of the fashion industry with a new, quirky venture into men's underwear for women. Since his cotton jockey shorts, singlets, boxer shorts (complete with fly) and panties that resemble jock straps became available in the United States in November, Klein has been unable to keep up with consumer demand. And the fly has spawned a host of imitations. In Canada buyers from four major department stores have been clamoring to stock Klein's line. Last week Eaton's became the first Canadian store to sell the products. And Louisa Watt, the company's national jockey buyer, said that there will be 16,000 pairs of string bikinis and sport briefs available across the country by the end of March.

U.S. reaction to the underwear indicates that Canadian women will likely be prepared to spend as much as \$1 a pair to sport Klein's name on their underclothes. During the Christmas rush at Bloomington's department store in New York City, mobs of women almost came to blows over skivvies. Said Klein's Harrogate, supermodel of the intimate apparel department: "When the Calvin Klein underwear would be the

first, people would surround the racks and tear it off the walls."

Theories about Klein's success with the new gender-crossing designs abound. Said Evelyn Doherty, fashion director for Toronto-based *Chatterbox* magazine: "We have always seen lingerie as being a sex-kitten kind of look. Suddenly it is bold and sexy, and I think it makes women feel a little weird. I think it also makes them feel more equal to men."



But Jill Gerson, editor and associate publisher of the New York-based trade magazine *Body Fashion*, *Intimate Apparel*, takes a more pragmatic approach. Said Gerson: "People are inventing a sociological phenomenon where sex does not exist. We are just talking about underwear. This is quite simply a change from frills and lace." No failure greeted *Jackie International*, how it began selling tailored cotton underwear for women two years ago. Gerson points out that Klein's success is based on powerful marketing aimed at what she called "the young and groovy generation that now earns \$50,000 a year."

A crucial part of Klein's aggressive marketing is a slick and controversial advertising campaign, which in the United States features billboard and magazine spots with a model wearing briefs and a singlet positioned to expose part of her right breast. In some of the advertisements, shown in such U.S. magazines as *Vogue* and *Comptelton*, the model's nipple is visible, in others it has been retouched out. The more discrete ad has already decorated billboards in Toronto and will start to appear in other major cities and in publications such as *Montreal Calendar* and *Toronto Life Fashion* in April.

Indeed, the design is quickly becoming an established fashion trend. Said New York's Gerson: "It is going to be the major influence in the spring selling season." Klein's sales figures have grown to \$10 million from \$2 million per season in November—and some U.S. manufacturers have copied his styles. One firm, Toronto-based Cotton Gentry, with 30 stores across the country, reported great success with its line of men's-style "skivvies" for women, which cost \$5 to \$9 per pair. Although the company will not reveal sales figures, a spokesman said that it recently placed its third repeat order from the manufacturer since they were introduced as Calvin Klein Cotton Gentry also plans to start marketing boxer shorts next month. Meanwhile, Stanfield's, the largest manufacturer of men's underwear in Canada since 1894, has no plans to market men's underwear for women. Said company spokesman Tommie Kauritz: "We manufacture 150 different varieties of men's underwear. Women's underwear would not be a big percentage of our business."

Klein remained characteristically modest on the subject of his success. Said the designer: "I do not theorize about clothes." Still, one thing is certain: by once again focusing consumer attention on women's bikinis, Klein has made a substantial gain in the \$1.5-billion-a-year North American underwear market.

—JANE MINGAY in Toronto

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## The dispute of the sea

The stakes were enormous as Canada prepared to face the United States at the International Court of Justice in The Hague next week. A special panel of five judges, including one from each of the disputing countries, will determine where the international boundary should be drawn through the Gulf of Maine, the area of the Atlantic Ocean between the northern tip of Nova Scotia and Cape Cod, Mass. The judges' decision will settle jurisdiction over about 10,000 square miles of rich fishing grounds and potentially enormous resources of minerals and petroleum on and beneath the ocean floor. The two countries have tried intermittently over the past 14 years to resolve the dispute, but without success. Finally they turned to the international court to work out a compromise, and they expect a decision by autumn which neither side can appeal.

Said Leonard Legault, Canada's senior legal counsel in the dispute: "We are approaching the moment of truth."

The outcome of the case could have a severe financial impact on Eastern Can-

ada. The disputed waters, where Canadian and American fishermen have developed a grudging coexistence for generations, include George's Bank, by far the most lucrative source of fish and scallops available to Nova Scotia fishermen. In 1980, a particularly abundant year, Nova Scotian landings from George's Bank had a market value of more than \$300 million and provided thousands of jobs in the southern part of the province. As for petroleum, geologists have not yet determined the extent of deposits in the region, but preliminary Geological Service of Canada surveys suggest that they could amount to as much as one-sixth of Canada's total reserves.

Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan, a federal leadership candidate, will open Canada's case as the two sides present their final oral arguments to the international court on April 2. Canada's position is that the boundary should be an equal distance from the shores of the two countries. But it also maintains that Cape Cod itself, the sandy area that juts about 40 miles into the Atlantic, is a

geographical anomaly which should not count in determining the midpoint of the Gulf of Maine. According to that argument, Canadian fishermen would have access to about one-third of George's Bank. But the United States says that George's Bank is a "natural" extension of Cape Cod and therefore should belong exclusively to the Americans.

Canada and the United States began negotiating the dispute on July 3, 1970, and neither side has budged in its demands since then. In March, 1979, Canadian negotiators and the Carter administration agreed on a fishing treaty for the region, and they decided to submit their apparently unresolvable border dispute to the international court.

Charles Doran, director of Canadian studies at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Study in Washington, and the Gulf of Maine dispute is not a "front-burner issue" for the Reagan administration. Said Doran: "Frankly, I think the United States is relieved that the issue is being decided by the international court. This way there will be no winners or losers; clearly there will be a compromise." Nova Scotia fishermen, who have a lot to lose, can only wait for the court's decision and hope that Doran is right.

—MICHAEL CALVERT in Halifax, with William Lonsdale in Washington.

## Striking down prayer

Recent polls show that 80 per cent of Americans favor organized prayer in public schools. By far the most famous supporter of the controversial issue is President Ronald Reagan, who pressed three years ago

to seek a constitutional amendment, permitting formal recited prayer in schools. Last week, after weeks of debate, the U.S. Senate finally put the matter to rest—at least temporarily. With all 100 senators present, the Senate voted 86 to 14 to so-called the spoken prayer measure, 11 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to approve the amendment. Said Reagan: "We have suffered a setback but we have not been defeated."



Walter Rucker

The school prayer campaign is popular among the president's conservative backers and will likely become an issue in Reagan's re-election drive. Those opposed include leaders of the Lutherans,

Methodist, Jewish and Unitarian religions. Indeed, it is not likely to reach the U.S. Supreme Court. But intense lobbying by dozens of religious groups, pro and con, persuaded few lawmakers to change their minds.

The U.S. Constitution does not prohibit atheist or voluntary prayer by individuals. The First Amendment says, in part, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Since 1962, Supreme Court decisions have effectively ruled compulsory prayer in school is illegal, upholding the basic concept of separation of church and state. Those decisions gave rise to the movements to amend the Constitution among fundamentalist Christians.

The pre-amendment Senate forces, led by Republicans, Gerni Hatch, of

Utah, attracted some powerful supporters, including Republican Majority Leader Howard Baker from Tennessee.

But opponents insisted that the Constitution was written to preserve religious liberty. Said Connecticut Republican Senator Lowell Weicker, who spearheaded the drive to defeat the amendment: "The best way to reach a very clear on this point. This [the U.S.] was to be a place where men and women could express themselves in their own way to their own God." Weicker, who liberties groups and mainline religious spokesmen argued that even a voluntary prayer would expose children of different faiths to peer pressure. Inevitably, the prayer that teachers or school boards approved would reflect the religious views of the majority.

Reagan himself lobbied hard for a change. Senate votes, and last week's vote was widely regarded as a decisive legislative defeat for the president. Still, it is not a setback likely to hurt him politically. And should he win a second term, Reagan would probably have an opportunity to appoint two or more Supreme Court Justices who would interpret the Constitution differently. Having failed to amend that document, the school prayer campaigners may set their sights on a new, more available objective: to change the court itself. —MICHAEL PATRICK in Washington.

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Canadian students to raise their fees to \$1,000. It would be the first such surcharge in Canada, but the government is ready to sign agreements with other provinces to exempt transphone students, who said.

The Quebec government approved the foreign student fee increase to provide relief to the province's taxpayers. As a result, new students from abroad will be paying about 90 per cent of the cost of educating themselves, compared to the 60 per cent that comes from the current fees. But many university administrators dismiss the fees as a clumsy and unfair way of reducing educational revenue for underfunded university systems. McGill's Stanchbury said that the government "clearly treats differential fees as a cost-recovery item," but any revenue generated is reduced by the amount that foreign student populations decrease. Other benefits are harder to measure, such as the value of the competition and diversity that foreign students bring to a campus or their potential as "ambassadors" for Quebec when they return to their home countries.

Concordia's academic vice-rector, Russell Brown, said that the 1988 fee increase had a "devastating" effect on the local foreign student population and on the number of countries represented. A good university "has to be an institution open to the budding intellectuals of the world," said Brown, but Concordia now runs the risk of becoming "more and more a provincial university." And at Bishop's University, another English-language institution, in Lennoxville, in the Eastern Townships, Principal Christopher Nicholl said that the differential increase will mean that "only children of families from the wealthy nations can afford to come."

Isaac Pavlidis, 31, a Greek who has been studying statistics at Concordia for the past three years, shares those concerns. Pavlidis's differential has doubled since his first year, and he said he often has to borrow from friends to pay the fee—an arrangement that "gives you a lot of trouble." Like all foreign students in Canada, he is legally prohibited from working. His budget has increased down by living in a tiny, 400-sq.-metre basement apartment. Still, he knows his family at home has to make sacrifices to keep him in Montreal. Said Pavlidis, who is trying to decide whether he can afford to return to Concordia in September to enter a master's program: "All of these facts influence our studies." And, like Pavlidis, many students who were considering Quebec universities will now look to other provinces, or to the United States, where they are allowed to work while they study.

—JENNIFER TORRES in Montreal

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## CRIME

# Selling Japan on vice

Japan's ownership laws are among the most permissive in the world, but a new book is testing those laws to their limit. The growing popularity of *The Manual of Vice*, a 100-page how-to guide to crime and perversion, is forcing the Japanese to rethink their tolerance for violence. As a result, the ruling Liberal Democratic party is preparing new legislation to restrict the sale of publications that, according to the party, "will harm the healthy development of young people." But until the government passes a new law, police find themselves powerless to ban the book.

*The Manual of Vice* describes in graphic detail the ways to commit a wide range of offenses, including rape, stabbing, strangulation, poisoning and theft. Since its publication on Feb. 13, it has sold more than 78,000 copies and it is now in its second printing. The hand-

book, the police in Tokyo and other cities have tried with limited success to convince bookshelves not to sell the publication. Still, only three stores in Tokyo have reported the book, although some others have agreed to take it off the shelves and discreetly put it behind the counter.

For the book's opponents, the only real hope lies in the possibility of new legislation that will censor, for the first time, offensive violent material. But the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, one of Japan's leading newspapers, has joined critics of the proposed bill, attacking it as "vague" and an invitation to "censorship." And while the politicians talk, *Utsu's* publishing company, Data House, is preparing its next how-to offering, the *Textbook of Love*, which he confidently predicts will be another best seller.

—PETER MCGILL in Tokyo

## A new how-to guide to crime and perversion is forcing the Japanese to rethink their tolerance for violence in print

book's author, Yoshiro Ueno, 55, insisted that he did not intend to encourage vice, but merely wanted to collect information on it. Said Ueno: "You should not try to hide dangerous information but make it interesting for people." Previous controversial titles from the same publishing house, which Ueno helped found last July, include *Overdose*, a manual by guide to every form of heroin, especially animal, available to college students. It also published a book on former Japanese prime minister Kakuei Tanaka, who was executed last year of murdering babies in the Lockheed scandal.

But Ueno has gone even further with *The Manual of Vice*. In an explicitly detailed chapter called "How to Kill," the author recommends the best ways to stab—"the trick is to choose the type of knife that you find easiest to handle"—strangle, poison and commit suicide. Another chapter called "How to Relieve Sexual Desire" gives advice on feeding women in taverns, and gagging and binding a rape victim. Explained Ueno: "We got the information from newspapers, magazines, books and even the police."

With no legal authority to ban the



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### FOR THE RECORD

## Anthems of commitment

FROM FRESH WATER  
Stevie Rogers  
(Cole Marlowe/ABC)

When Stevie Rogers died at the age of 33 in an airplane fire in Cincinnati last June, folk music fans mourned the loss of a performer whose thundering baritone had seemed capable of raising the various ships he sang about so passionately. Although he had a taste for the salty coasts of Atlantic harbors, part of Rogers' heart had always remained in the Great Lakes region of his boyhood. His posthumous album, *From Fresh Water*, is a fitting, if somewhat uneven, wistful tribute. *Wish You'd and The Nancy* will stand with Rogers' finest songs. But lavish production sinks some of the other tracks, including *Men With Blue Dolphins*. Still, where the accompaniment is sensitively handled, as with the deft addition of fiddle and Northumbrian small pipes on *The House of Orange*, the album succeeds splendidly. *Orange* is the only political

song that Rogers ever recorded. In it, his emotional conviction conveys his abhorrence of violence in Northern Ireland, severing him from his fondness. Ultimately, people will likely remember Stevie Rogers for the passionate sense of history in his stirring songs.

PEOPLE TALK  
Sherry Keen  
(Capitol)

Sherry Keen sings with a dancer's sensibility. She makes each note seem like a studied movement, slanted by vocal breaks and bends in two years with her stylistic band, The Sharps, her distinctive time voice and stage presence have attracted a considerable following. New Keen's vocal talents are showcased on *People Talk*, an engaging collection of Sharps favorites and new compositions co-written with her guitarist-husband, David Baxter. *Get Away From This Girl* amply displays her growing range, and Baxter's clever chords deservedly share

the spotlight on *Universe of Two*. The album relies heavily on their established repertoire. In *I Want You Back* and *Mixed Emotions*, Baxter adds fresh, frenetic guitar tracks to Keen's abrupt, iron vocals, but *Be Mine* is disappointing because the song lacks the impact it had in live performance. Still, as a first album, *People Talk* is appealing. Whether Sherry Keen is taking new or more familiar steps, she choreographs her voice with nerve and confidence.

DECLARATION  
The Alarm  
(A&A & M)

An incorporating Welsh band, The Alarm has abandoned the electronic sounds of the British rock music majority in favor of simple acoustic guitars. Its chiming chords and angry political stance create a brave blend of 1960s folk and 1970s punk. In such songs as *Rise of Glory* and *Where Were You When the Storm Broke?*, The Alarm sounds the call to rise out of apathy. But where *Marching On* and *The Storm* were urgent anthems on the band's earlier record, they now seem tranquilized and subverted. Some producers cannot leave well enough alone.

—NICHOLAS JENNINGS

### THEATRE

## Clowns amid absurdity

WAITING FOR GODOT  
By Samuel Beckett  
Directed by Peter Froehlich

Since its world premiere in 1953, Samuel Beckett's scintillating masterpiece *Waiting for Godot* has become a classic. Often that status invites directors to experiment, confident that a dramatic gem will always shine no matter how they cut it. But, despite a glittering cast, director Peter Froehlich's production of *Waiting for Godot* is, exactly like the play, flawed. And such confidence is often misplaced.

In Froehlich's version the text of Beckett's plotless parable about two bobos endlessly waiting for an omniscient authority figure remains intact. But the actors, especially the two bobos, Vladimir (Neil Patrick Harris) and Estragon (Paul Robeson), cannot do the playwright's complex tapestry of cryptic sentences and pregnant silences as if ticking off a laundry list. The unfortunate result is closer to kitchen-sink realism than the style of the absurd. Still, Donald Davis as Pome and Eric Peterson as his slave,



Davis: cryptic words, pregnant silences

authoritatively convey the necessary mix of clowning and melancholy. When Davis jerks Peterson around on the end of his rope, that rough unskillful need makes a powerful statement about the ambivalent relationship between master and slave. But even Davis's and Peterson's engaging performances need more intensity to enliven the pallid pace of the production.

Designer John Ferguson's set, on the other hand, is both innovative and successful. By scooping out a ditch below the runway road where Beckett sets all the action, Ferguson provides more than just a macabre stage when all four characters struggle in a heap at the bottom of the ditch. It is the comic highlight of the production. And when Lucky collapses after his titanic monologue, he struggles over the ditch like a bugged-out, brutal image that echoes the bobos' half-hearted fantasies of hanging themselves. But illustrating the text literally can be dangerous, especially when so little has been left to the imagination already. What makes *Godot* a challenging play is its insight into the infinite ways speech and silence can reveal the human condition. But giving Beckett's cryptic dialogue a flat and homespun interpretation guarantees that the production cannot meet that challenge.

—MARK GRANTZKE



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## YOUTH

# Eastern Europe's addicts

In Czechoslovakia the drug addicts' mainstay is a substance known as *perník* (gingerbread), which is made from macadamia sold freely over the counter. In Poland addicts favor insulin, an illness heretofore reserved that is made by crushing the stalks of poppy plants that farmers cultivate for the legal production of morphine. Throughout Eastern Europe the abuse of narcotics—hard, soft and medicine-derived—has surged alarmingly recently, creating a dangerous drug culture among young people. There is little official information about the problem because drug use is incompatible with the image that the Eastern Bloc governments like to project of life and youth in a Communist society. But because the authorities have, at least until recently, failed to issue warnings about the dangers of drug abuse, they have left themselves open to charges of contributing to the spread of the problem.

In February the Polish government admitted that 102 Poles had died of overdoses in 1982, the last year for which figures were available, and the

authorities reported that 33,000 others were registered as addicts. In Czechoslovakia the Charter 77 civil rights movement claimed in a report which reached the West in February that there had been 24 drug-related deaths of teenagers in the region of North Bohemia alone in 1982. The report, which Charter 77 prepared following a secret conference on drug abuse in Prague last November, also said that Czechoslovakia had 8,000 addicts.

Eastern Europe's drug problems are not part of the illicit worldwide traffic, that industry works primarily for the lucrative Western market. Instead, the problem is primarily a result of misuse of home-grown drugs or the abuse of patent and prescription medicines. Many drugs and poisons that are under strict controls in the West are available cheaply and without prescription in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in Eastern Europe. As a result, Charter 77 found that the vast majority of Czechoslovakia's drug users was addicted to over-the-counter medicines containing amphetamines, barbiturates and sud-

rine. In Poland, a major manufacturer of morphine, the drug problem centres on huge opium plantations scattered around the countryside. The law limits farmers to selling only to the pharmaceutical industry, but heroin dealers turn up at harvest time to buy part of the crop at prices well above those that the government pays.

Recently there have been indications that some regimes are finally prepared to deal with the problem. In January the Czech government ordered Prague Radio to start a monthly series of panel discussions on addiction and it said it planned to tighten laws on the sale of narcotics. Poland has opened new rehabilitation centres and ordered a crackdown on narcotics gangs. In the next few weeks the Polish parliament is expected to approve a new law stiffening penalties for traffickers and permitting the Roman Catholic Church to start its own projects for addicts. The authorities elsewhere in Eastern Europe will probably want to wait for the results of the Czech and Polish experiments before trying some new programs of their own. But the scale of the problem, which in turn is aggravated by a severe lack of medical facilities and trained personnel to deal with large-scale addiction, could prompt them to act far sooner than that.

—PETER LEWIS in Brussels

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## THE AMAZING POSSIBILITIES OF MEMORY

I joke though when I turned to my friend Ray's house that I was going to spend a long memory which was eventually to return my mind power to an amazing degree.

He had moved me to Stockholm to become a writer and other French novelist. After dinner the conversation turned naturally to the problems of public speaking and the great ideas required on the subject as it was to be used perfectly. An experienced speaker has no problem in putting over power concepts and has background on the subject under discussion, but it is vital to be well prepared on facts, figures and dates. In my mind certain subjects, such as notes in the way of a writer's notes.

Ray then told me that his power of memory would ensure me. I reminded him that which he was studying law together in Paris he had had the most glorious memory, so this statement put him to be proved with a discussion.

He went to the end of the dining room and asked me to enter down a hundred French numbers, calling each one out in turn. When I had finished, Ray repeated down all to me in the correct sequence and then in another order. Continuing the experiment, I asked him the relative position in the list of various numbers. For example, what was the 34th, 72nd and 124th? With no apparent effort all the questions were answered quickly and accurately, almost as though my list was composed in his head.

I was dumbfounded by his turn of mind and wondered how much he managed to recall or he was lucky? My friend then said, "What you have just seen is, in fact, quite simple. Everybody has a memory good enough to do the same, but very few know how to use it fully." He then explained how I could achieve a similar feat of memory. I tried to follow and was able to go through the list of numbers without making any real effort. But I did not stop at these memory exercises. I applied the principle I had learned at my first lesson. Soon I could remember with unbelievable ease. Before I had heard him I had given the names of people I had not met only once, their addresses and a detailed story which was repeated in my mind as I did it while I listened. I discovered that not only had my memory improved, I applied the principle of association and judgment to follow that one's memory of numbers is primarily dependent on the material which is presented. If things we remember, we perfect this was not surprising.

If you would like to share this experience and to possess these mental powers which are not out of your reach of memory, call Ray to your attention. He will send you his unique book which will improve your memory.

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## BEHAVIOR

# Lunches with extra bite

In corporate circles, the recipe for a business lunch has been well established for decades: take two plain-striped suits, arrange them carefully in an expensive restaurant, add large amounts of alcohol, and add in any type of food, let the conversation rise to room temperature and hope that by the time the bill arrives the right contact is made, the deal completed. But now two Americans have taken the basic principles of the business lunch and elevated them to a higher plane of corporate manipulation in their new book, *Power Lunching*. They maintain executives are not only on what kind of restaurant to choose for lunch but also on what to eat and drink in order to impress their guests. Applying the theories to selected restaurants throughout Canada, it is possible to see that members of an influential clientele already observe many of the rules of power lunching, but they have clearly developed their own regional variations.

Coauthors Ligita Daubard, owner of a Chicago public relations firm, and E. Melvin Plank, a Chicago advertising executive, argue basically that any dish with steak contains power because of its "image of masculine honesty." On the other hand, "any food with milk in it—like a casserole—is tied to childhood and is a wussy choice." Their advice goes beyond "power foods" to power drinks and power seating arrange-

ments, and they mention power lunches of the benefits of greasing even a good maître d's palm occasionally to ensure attentive service.

The right restaurants, the authors say, employ professionals, usually male, waiters rather than people who are "actors or dancers waiting for their big break." They advise power lunchers to avoid food such as fattening almonds that are difficult to eat gracefully, or fussy dishes, which distract the guest. "You are not going to a power lunch to eat but to conduct business," Daubard explained in an interview. "You have to be aware every moment of what you are doing and what you are after."

The book adds that the selection of drinks is also important, even for a non-alcoholic lunch. The authors say that it is more effective to order a club soda rather than mineral water, which, they contend, is a "wussy, phoney drink." They argue that with proper attention, a power lunch has much greater importance than the simple, time-honored custom of trading leads for the sake of eating and socializing. Said Daubard: "A power lunch uses the studied process of controlling a business meeting to gain your object or goal."

At the Owl's Nest and Lounge in downtown Calgary, for one, power lunching is a business which begins early in the morning and leaves nothing

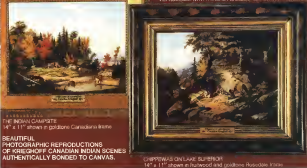
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to chase 50% per cent of the Ode's staff's customers are regulars, and a business phone them daily to ask whether they will need their take. Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed is a familiar patron, as are oil company presidents and stock brokers. Said Frank King, chairman of the 1986 Olympic organizing committee and a conservative power leader: "In Calgary it is a standard way of extending the workday by two hours." But even experienced power players can make mistakes. Said King: "I remember being out with a well-known Calgary architect once and ordering shepherd's pie. He told me that was an extremely unsmooth thing to eat." In fact, Ode's food manager Jennifer Wernke revealed that even in the so-called best capital of Canada many of his customers forget steak and order a lighter meal.

In Vancouver many businessmen covet the sporting skills ever taught at St. George's. Said owner Umberto Menghi: "I can tell you, as a lobbyist it is 80-per-cent business. They are not laughing, they are not drinking and they usually have briefcases." But Harvey Swirek, senior editor of the *Southwest* publishing empire and publisher of the Vancouver-based *Examiner*, is an local businessman who disputes the strict principles of power lunching. Said Swirek: "I usually go to a Japanese restaurant where it is private and nobody knows you, and I eat alone with my laptop."

In Toronto public affairs consultant Christine Tasko is one of a growing number of female power lunchers. Like many women, she dismisses Wernke's—the famed haunt of Liberal leadership candidate John Turner—as a power restaurant. Said Tasko, who lunches with important prospective voters about six times a month: "Wynston's and the Royal York are boring. They are for men in their 50s." Instead, she prefers upscale canine and southern Italian restaurants with a lighter, more atmospheric, such as *Socle* and *Noctua*. And if I ask someone if they want to go to Noctua and they have never heard of it," Tasko added, "I wonder who I am doing business with in the first place."

Tasko follows the book's advice about cultivating selected maître d's but also objects to ordering steak as a power food. "If I am with a man who underestimates," she said, "I not only like it is unattractive, I think he is insecure." But for all their disagreements with the authors of *Power Lunching*, Tasko and many others still use the midday knife and fork as business tools. They simply have their own ways of wielding them.

—JANE O'HARA, with  
Diane Louche in Vancouver

## BOOKS

### The private man revealed

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES,  
VOLUME II, MOSES STRAUSS, 1983-1985

By Robert Skidelsky  
(Macmillan of Canada,  
417 pages, \$29.95)

John Maynard Keynes has dominated the world of Western economics during the 20th century more than anyone else. Before he published his landmark study, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, in 1936, governments had called economists to the aid of their



Keynes a faille, attractive figure

tery they studied and commented on economic conditions but they had little control over events. Then, during and after the Great Depression, governments turned increasingly to Keynes's theories as a way of preventing a recurrence of the massive unemployment that had threatened the world. Keynes began to interfere profoundly in the workings of the capitalist system, using such devices as public investment and the manipulation of interest rates. These practices are now commonplace, and Keynesians, until the mid-1970s, became the standard

economic creed of the industrialized West. But, despite his influence, biographers have tended to gloss over certain aspects of Keynes's life. Now British political scientist Robert Skidelsky has written a conscientious biography that takes note of Keynes's kinks.

Skidelsky's Keynes is at once a more fallible and a more attractive figure than the somewhat remote great man who was the friend and confidant of the ministers, millionaires and artists John Maynard Keynes. *Moses* straggles covers the first 37 years of the economist's life. It was a period during which Keynes enjoyed privileged surroundings. He spent his early years in the refined environs of Cambridge University, where his father was a noted mathematician and logician, and he later attended Eton. His academic career was distinguished by high marks and the emergence of a rather conservative cast of mind. His scholarly speeches were profitable in their support of British imperialism. Indeed, Keynes might have entirely embraced the complexity of the late Victorian era had he not fallen into highly uncomplimentary company at Cambridge. There he met Lytton Strachey and Leonard Woolf, who eventually led him into that brilliant, success-confirming corner of wit and intellectuality known as the Bloomsbury Group.

As Skidelsky shows in fascinating detail, the group provided Keynes with the private nourishment he needed to sustain his public career as a rising young academic and civil servant. During the First World War, when he was an economics expert at the Treasury, he used to stroll at the country house of Vanessa Bell, the painter. There, the slightly dressed above to cabinet ministers was appreciated for his great practical intelligence, his listening ability—and his wealth. However, he retired as much as he gave his friends readily approval of his homosexuality at a time when sodomy was illegal.

Skidelsky strongly suggests that without the Bloomsbury Group Keynes's social conscience would never have developed. Intensely opposed to the slaughter of the Great War, they also took exception to Keynes's voluntary contributions to the war effort. "What are you?" the writer David Garnett demanded. "Only an intelligence . . . to serve them faithfully for their savage ends." But, one might be tempted to say, Keynes found his work deeply interesting and felt he could best help his coun-

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try survive by remaining at the Treasury. However, he was determined that when the war was over he would do his best to "establish world affairs on a new and better basis, so that this shall not happen again." Stokely's impression that he would not have made that pledge without Roosevelt's prodding is questionable too much of the group's influence Keynes may have lacked moral imagination, but he was by no means immoral.

The young economist quickly understood his task. At the war's end he journeyed to the Paris Peace Conference as a top adviser to the British delegation. There he was appalled at the determination of the Allies to crush Germany by demanding the highest possible reparation payments. Returning to England, he immediately left his job and set to work on a passionate polemic entitled *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. In his prophetic book, published in 1919, he argued that the exact payments would lead to a destabilizing of Europe, making another war highly probable. *Economic Consequences* was a best seller that gained its author his first international attention at 36. Stokely has given a deeper, more candid understanding of the young man who had just made the first step toward moving the new economies into the center of the political arena, where, for better or worse, it has held sway ever since.

—JOHN BRIMHOLD

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## Soviet spies in capitalist clothes

THE COMMISSAR'S REPORT  
By Martin Duvier

(Thomas Allen & Son, 212 pages, \$20.95)

Comic thrillers about the horrors of the Cold War require a scalpel-like wit to succeed. But Canadian journalist Martin Duvier, best known for *Conversations*, his CBC TV documentary on the Mafia, writes with the sub-

city of a humorist. The Commissar's Report, in which a Berlin agent becomes one of the wealthiest capitalists in the United States, is a clothesline of sexual clichés and topical sexual riffs strung across a grim landscape of paranoia. The book fails because Duvier, in his desperate search for humor, undercuts the suspenseful tension of the world in which he is operating.

In defter hands the novel's grotesque might have worked. Dimitri, son of a Bolshevik bureaucrat, falls in love with America while passing through his father's hidden collection of *Life* mag-

azines. To get to his promised land he decides to become a spy. Soon after he and his wife, Katya, arrives in New York, she wins \$1,000 in a lottery, a windfall that Dimitri successfully invests. Before long he becomes a rich tycoon—while still functioning as a Soviet agent. That potentially serious situation leads to further absurdities. As Dimitri arranges tours of drunken Russian poets to recruit American intellectuals into his spy network, and as he accidentally releases the 1936 McCarthy witch-hunts, the twisting plot seems fully revealed: the author's ineptness.

Yet Duvier kills the novel's comic potential with humor that is arch and heavy-handed. The rust, which he always refers to as "The Warmer's Paradise," is a Cold War caricature of boiled cabbage and fat women, while the United States, mockingly called "Kosmo Number One," is a two-dimensional world of liberals, lightweights and beachball fans. Meanwhile, grotesque scenes of purges and death end in jokes which inevitably fall flat. When Dimitri reports that someone is trying to kill him, his father advises him to strike first. "That's the trouble with your milk-fed generation," the old Stalinist roars. "You make everything complicated. For us, everything was clear. We drank, screwed, followed Soviet's orders, and schemed to shoot one another." That line, and others like it, are as amusing as a sharp clobber in the ribs.

Both lines emerge from characters who are too shallow to engage the reader's interest and whose motivations even utterly concerning Dimitri, as another character points out, is "a jerk" and his wife's stereotype of a morose blonde who loves shopping. Dimitri's father is a sadist who turns his friends over to the KGB—but the reader is supposed to accept this total logic as the reason that Dimitri does not defect to the West.

Despite the novel's flaws, the passages in which Duvier restricts himself to writing as a cold and hard journalist reveal how good the book might have been. In one scene Dimitri's father sends political prisoners marching across fields strewn with land mines and then summons them back to answer a visiting American intellectual. Finally, the prisoners rush to save themselves—all but one, who simply continues to walk on until he steps onto a mine and blows himself up. That dreadful image has a haunting power which all the cheap laughs cannot dispel. In the book's last chapters Duvier stops groping for one-liners, and his writing finally achieves a ring of authenticity. He continues to demonstrate his talents as a documentarist, but as a novelist he has not yet succeeded.

—MARGARET CANNON



## "They run about \$11,000 to the litre."

Give or take a few hundred dollars, the 1.8 litre BMW 518i starts at a little over \$15,000, the 528e at \$25,000 and the 533i at \$34,000 or so.

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Think of the problems of designing a high performance family sedan. The challenges are daunting because the needs are contradictory. Space and comfort on the one hand, and performance on the other, pull against each other. The "perfect" sedan must perform vividly, like a top drawer sports car. It must also provide ample space for the family and its luggage and a high degree of comfort. Finally, it must be exceptionally well made—to look good and stay fast over the long haul.

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proving into engine, the suspension and brakes. Key sensors feed data into a computer. According to how hard you drive, where you drive (down town or highway), whether it's winter or summer, the micro processor (MSP) it sees and reports it out. When your car needs servicing, little lights light up to say so.

black boxes, light sensors, tiny stitches, and other relevant trivia.

However, there is one way to properly appreciate the quality of the 528e and the 533i: drive them. Only then will you know why we have the gall to say \$11,000 to the litre represents absolute value.



Bavarian Motor Works, Munich, West Germany



Detail: Note back of front seats. They are sculpted—18 give more and passengers more of room. As with all BMWs, the interior speaks eloquently of high quality and good taste.

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THE HOUSE OF BRANDY



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Lambert and jungle family, shock at animals caged in a laboratory, and slings of soap with his dirty grandfather

# FILMS

## Taming the legend of a noble savage

GREYSTOKE: THE LEGEND OF TARZAN, LORD OF THE APES  
Directed by Hugh Hudson

**T**he new version of the Tarzan story, *Greystoke: The Legend of Tarzan, Lord of the Apes*, is a far cry from the comic-book style of the old Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer series with Johnny Weissmuller. *Greystoke* has no high-pitched whistles or "Ma Tarzan, you Jane" exchanges. Instead, the movie

reverts back to Edgar Rice Burroughs's 1914 novel, with which few moviegoers are familiar—Tarzan's childhood and adolescence among the apes of Africa and his first taste of civilization in Scotland, and the film loses its exotic hold on the audience. Tarzan's first encounter with civilization should be awe-inspiring for him. But when he sees an automobile he appears little more than quizzical. Although he begins to lose his

own good. The movie desperately needs the energy that a less faithful and more fancy director might have brought to it. The early scenes of *Greystoke* do, however, have some of the elemental excitement of the great nature films. Burroughs began his narrative with Tarzan's parents shipwrecked off the west coast of Africa in 1886. His mother dies shortly after childbirth, and a mother

ape, whose baby has just died, kills his father. Tarzan (the same name "white skin") is an ape language that Burroughs invented but is never explained in the movie) becomes her surrogate

son. Cinematographer John Alcott's world of mist and vines lends the jungle scenes a remarkable plausibility, but, as soothing as that world is to watch, no real sense of danger pervades it. *Greystoke* is as its considerable best when dealing with the animal and grunted, yet extremely tender, interaction between Tarzan (newcomer Christopher Lambert) and his adoptive family. But the action scenes, such as Tarzan's fight to the death with a panther, need a more forceful, two-fisted approach.

After the Belgian explorer D'Arnot (Ian Holm) discovers Tarzan and his lineage through a tracker, Tarzan swears around his neck, the story moves to Scotland, and the film loses its exotic hold on the audience. Tarzan's first encounter with civilization should be awe-inspiring for him. But when he sees an automobile he appears little more than quizzical. Although he begins to lose his

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CFRB 1010 RADIO  
THE PEOPLE PEOPLE LISTEN TO

## A spinster finds her macho heart

ROMANCING THE STONE

Directed by Robert Zemeckis

The most striking thing about *Romancing the Stone*, a machine and fast-clipped entertainment package, is that its central character is a housewife Joan Wilder (Kathleen Turner) is a romance novelist who chafes out herself but elicits fiction at the same rate that other women once baked bread. She is also well on her way to becoming an old maid. She lives alone with her cat, a cupboard filled with liquor-bottle misadventures and a dream that one day she will be swept away by Jesse, the dashing character who always saves the heroine at the end of her peripetries. As Joan finishes upping the last few words of her latest novel, which reduces her to tears, she suddenly becomes enveloped in an adventure much like her own fiction.

Written by Diane Thomas, *Romancing the Stone* is pure Saturday-morning with a refreshing twist. Robert Zemeckis (*Used Cars*) has directed with great tongue-in-cheek style and wit, and the movie has everything from a heart-in-the-mouth Jeep chase to a crocodile biting off a man's hand and a much bigger after-tremor, a giant emerald. Joan's adventure takes her to the Colombian jungle, raises her blood pressure and gives her the fright—and fun—of her life. She also meets a shaggy version of her Jesse in Jack Colton (Richard Dreyfuss), a former drag dealer who saves her when she is stranded on a Colombian mountainside.

When it models itself after *Bend Sinister* of the Last Act with its jungle setting, treasure, deadly lit covers, repulsive reptiles and offhand wit, *Romancing the Stone* still has its own special charm. In large part that is due to Kathleen Turner's performance. As bookworm-turned-funny heroine, she fights off a knife attack with more agility than she had ever anticipated. Dreyfuss is less successful as the grumpy, turn-of-phrase lord who shows her the ropes. Like *Bend Sinister* of the Last Act, *Romancing the Stone* becomes heavily—and well—from earlier movies and does not take itself seriously for a minute. Old-fashioned romance makes a comeback as Joan says to Jack, "You're the best time I've ever had." *Romancing the Stone* may not be the best time an audience has ever had, but it is a movie around a campfire in which marjorana is used as fuel, or when Joan drives a car down a shadow river toward a waterfall, it runs a close second. —LAWRENCE TOOMEY



Coghlin and James: An emotional dilemma, so angry that wounds go unnoticed

## TELEVISION

### A marriage surrenders

CHANGE OF HEART

csc April 1, 8 p.m. EST

In a *Change of Heart* Alberta Simmerman Anne Wheeler has created a spinoff of the CBC's *For the Record* with the series' typical emphasis on subjects of social concern. *Change of Heart* agitates the Canadian collective conscience on behalf of those women who may have to fight for a share of the family's financial gains after separation or divorce. But, antipically, Wheeler does not use the message as a tool against her audience. Her formative, Bob and Edna Campbell, are loving partners in a 30-year marriage case most, not case studies in social sciences.

Filmed around the farming community of Vermilion, Alta., *Change of Heart* is thoroughly and unself-consciously authentic. The actors effortlessly populate the farms, the town and the supermarket. Bob (Ken James) and Edna (Joy Coghill) are situated perfectly for their age and generation. They have recently built themselves a bourgeois farmhouse, the kitchen is as new that it looks as though it could claim itself.

Because their son Jim has largely taken over running the farm, Edna and Bob have time on their hands. Edna has filled it by taking the first paid job of her married life, teaching English. Bob's early retirement is not as easy far but to deal with. All he can think of is winning in Arizona, to the envy of his

friends, which would take Edna away from her job. He thinks that it is not important because her salary hardly covers the cost of transportation, and besides, he must make his own lunch. After a surprise anniversary party at the league hall, conflicting dreams and an old tragedy conspire to destroy the uneasy truce by which Bob and Edna have lived. At least it was a truce for Edna, who has spent most of her marriage acting as a buffer zone between Bob's bullying and their children.

James plays Bob as an emotional tyrant, so deeply angry that he does not notice the wounds he inflicts. When Edna leaves him, he cannot admit that he misses her, and locks the house in case the children might "steal" something to furnish her town apartment. But it is Coghill who lifts *Change of Heart* from a solid, crafted drama to a special event. As Edna, she slightly crumpled eyes fit on the world of a family broken-down Bob that there will be no reconciliation, is a testament to the depth of intimacy television can achieve. Open to the camera, Edna's face registers—in brief seconds—relief, sadness, satisfaction and fear. For one episode, at least, *For the Record* could be called *From the Heart*. —ANNE COLLINS

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# In praise of a good politician

By Douglas Fisher

**E**arly in February three retired politicians—466-Robt. Rowe, James Sinclair and Allan Grant—were substantial men when I first got to Ottawa as an MP in 1957. Rowe, a Progressive Conservative, had been elected to the House 12 times. He was the dean. Sinclair, a Liberal, was the president and Grant, a Conservative, was the president of the House. They were the first of the moderns in advertising to address campaigning fully. Rowe and Sinclair were rugged—vivid, even risqué at times. Grant was more reserved and intellectual. Each was an achiever, above the ordinary.

It was the awareness of their deaths and their key roles in politics that drew me to their obituaries. These obituaries were remarkably skippy, as was any kind of associated comment. It was as though Rowe and Sinclair were notable only for their daughters (Joan Wadd and Margaret Trudeau). And the circumstances of Grant's heart attack on Jan. 16 while he was driving his car on a freeway were judged more interesting than his role as architect of the Gargantuan of all victories in a general election—the Diefenbaker sweep of 1958.

How unhistorical, how Canadian! It's all today, tomorrow and next week. No time to savor yesterday's people of worth. It was tedious to blame the quiet and the young for such brusqueness with the honorable as they digested.

Then the House suddenly honored Stanley Knowles. In one swoop of a motion he was given a place "at the table" as late as he shall live. It was a grand, sentimental gesture, laid on by Pierre Trudeau. It made me blink and wipe away tears of joy. Wonderful! And I knew that hundreds of others, especially on the Hill and in Winnipeg, Knowles' home town, felt the same.

Perhaps at some time after he came to the House in 1962 Knowles turned down or gave brief shrift to the request of a student, a reporter, a constituent or a plain citizen from anywhere I never witnessed such, nor heard of it, in over 27 years of close or near association. Over decades more mud came to him than to any other MP. No other MP—not the Chief or Jack Pickership or Allan Rock—put in the busy hours Knowles did. It is the chamber or the lobby, in the caucus, while waiting let-

ture, chatting, lingering, he was always gracious, never mean or gruff.

Twelve- to 15-hour days in his favorite rooms and halls were his working norm, always. He took few holidays. He never seemed to slump or be flustered by the mark until stroke slowed him down in 1983. It was on a trip with him to Europe in 1983 that I first learned that he'd known he had a form of multiple sclerosis since 1947. He outworked a lot of us on that journey, yet he stayed so sharply his words were like a child's.

It's an axiom about achievement in politics that one must have stamina and endurance. None of the politicians I've known has matched Knowles there. And, remember, his was never a grim, done presence. He has had wit, always. Even today, as we pass, he'll grin, pull my elbow and say "Would you believe? I forget things now."

Name of an is ever perfect or perfect. Knowles has had his shortfalls and

***'In one swoop of a motion Stanley Knowles was given a place "at the table" for as long as he shall live'***

his critics. The House is almost always sensitive and bent toward nastiness. And Knowles has been a lion for his party, although I can't recall a veteran MP who has been more fair. He has aged pastime trickery. His composure about current procedure and his lively preferred words against larger pay and pensions for MPs have always riled a portion of the House.

When I think of Stanley Knowles I often reflect on a number of "what ifs." "What if I've observed in politics has been more dedicated, hard-working or braver? His analysis of the hard subjects proposed that of Diefenbaker or David Lewis. Knowles could have mastered monetary and fiscal policy or the constitutional complexities and popularized them, much as he did persons or the role of the opposition by putting it in three words: check, good and replace.

What if he had decided to take the lead in economic analysis and policy? If he had asked others in his caucus to mind his parliamentary steps while he put his great talent to leading his party? The Waffle radicals within the NDP

in the early 1970s sometimes derided Knowles. Rather than building a mass movement across the country, he had made Parliament work—for the Liberals.

The pattern in parliamentary affairs is that the House always deals with something before it that is to be approved or rejected in a House with a clear government majority the winner is certain. And tradition, dear to Stanley Knowles, held that each item of business be treated by a member or by a party caucus as distinct, that is, to be apprised and voted on according to its merits. When there's a minority government that fears defeat, this tradition becomes its rack of pain. As opposition group that holds the balance of power has clout. At times, for example in 1973, David Lewis, Knowles and the NDP used the situation to pull several items they sought from the government, including Prime-Canada.

It's a great strategy so long as the government wants to survive. In 1982, in 1974 and again in 1980, minority governments were defeated. NDP MPs, marshalled by Knowles, voted them out. It was obvious that all three subsequent elections would not be to the NDP's advantage. To those of his party who knew this and counselled caustic tactics, Knowles would argue that it was not right to refuse to vote, to move a vote or to vote contrary to one's views just to avoid an election. The Liberal hand of their caucus such as McRae and Maclellan knew well Knowles' integrity and consistency and, astounded by the scruples, they sprung their traps.

Another criticism of Knowles bubbled up after he expressed his deep appreciation two weeks ago to the Prime Minister for making him an honorary officer of the House. Much recent pressure for reform of Parliament has been resented to the Prime Minister's lack of interest in Parliament and in the role of MPs and influence to the PMO PCs. That is, we've moved in the past 15 years from cabinet and parliamentary government toward a presidential one. And here was Mr. Parliament thanking Mr. President.

But such a criticism only demonstrates the integrity and graciousness of Stanley Knowles. He loves the House, and his life there has been a service to us all. He's a symbol and reminder of so many others who have served or serve there.

Douglas Fisher is a syndicated columnist for The Toronto Sun in Ottawa.

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Their good taste is sure to

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**Knorr**  
knows good taste

# The 1984 Cutlass Ciera. Only a car this stylish could call itself a Cutlass.

What's in a name? Well, when the name is Cutlass, a lot. As you can plainly see, the new 1984 Cutlass Ciera Brougham really lives up to its reputation. The contemporary lines. The aerodynamic shape. This mid-size is stylish, no matter how you look at it.

And that includes from the inside out. Because inside is where you'll find elegant room for six, comfortable full-foam velour

seats, and special touches like side window defoggers and available electronic instrument panel. Olds Cutlass Ciera. Electronic fuel-injected 4-cylinder engine, or available V6 gas and V6 diesel. One look will tell you why we call it a Cutlass.

Some Oldsmobiles are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries or affiliated companies worldwide. See your dealer for details.



Let's get together and make it happen.

There is a special feel  
in an

  
*Oldsmobile*